A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen

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A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen

Edited by

Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt
& George Ferzoco

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2014

Cover illustration: Hildegard above and a scribe below, from *Liber Scivias* (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. X, 16, fol. 3v, end of 12th century). Courtesy of the Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

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ISSN 1871-6377
ISBN 978-90-04-26070-2 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-26071-9 (e-book)

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Constant J. Mews is Professor within the School of Philosophical, Historical, and International Studies, Monash University, where he is also Director of the Centre for Studies in Religion and Theology. He has published widely on medieval thought, education, and religious culture,

with particular reference to the writings of Abelard, Heloise, Hildegard of Bingen, and their contemporaries, including *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard. Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France*, 2nd ed. (2008).

Susanne Ruge specializes in the writings and music of Hildegard of Bingen, especially in the *Liber vite meritorum*. Her main areas of interest are history of monasticism; church music of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Baroque period; and communicating historical, theological, and musical traditions to ordinary people, especially children. A recent publication on the last theme is "Unterrichtseinheit zum Buch Rut," in *Frauen und Männer in der Bibel. Impulse für biografisches Lernen im Religionsunterricht*, eds. Roland Biewald and Bärbel Husmann, Themenhefte Religion 7 (2009), 29–36. She works for the Lutheran Church of Hannover, Germany.

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Debra L. Stoudt is Professor of German and Associate Dean in the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. She has published on the lives and works of the medieval German male and female mystics as well as the relationship between magic and medicine in the Middle Ages.

Justin A. Stover is currently a Fellow at Oxford University, All Souls, and was a College Fellow in the Department of the Classics at Harvard University, where he received his Ph.D. in Medieval Latin in 2011. His dissertation, "Reading Plato in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Varieties of Plato's Reception in the Latin West Before 1215," explored the reception of Plato in the scholastic and monastic worlds of 12th-century Europe. His other interests include intellectual history, medieval humanism, manuscript studies, and the Classical tradition. He is currently working on a monograph on prodigies and wonders from Late Antiquity to Early Modernity.

ABBREVIATIONS

AH	*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*
AA.SS.	*Acta Sanctorum*
CAO	*Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert, 1–6 (Rome, 1963–1979).
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis* (Turnhout, 1966–).
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1954–).
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866–).
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
Auct. ant.	*Auctores antiquissimi*
Poet.	*Poetae*
SS	*Scriptores*
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–1864).
SC	*Sources chrétiennes* (Paris, 1944–).
²VL	*Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, newly rev. and ed. Kurt Ruh, Verfasserlexikon, 2 (Berlin, 1977).
Vulg.	*Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1983).

Hildegard of Bingen's Works

Cause	*Cause et cure*, eds. Laurence Moulinier and Rainer Berndt, Rarissima mediaevalia Opera latina, 1 (Berlin, 2003).
De reg. Bened.	*De regula Sancti Benedicti*, ed. Hugh Feiss, in *Opera minora*, pp. 67–97.
V. Disib.	*Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi*, AA.SS. Juli II (Paris, 1897), pp. 581–97; and PL 197:1095–1116 (Paris, 1855).
Diu. operum	*Hildegardis Bingensis Liber diuinorum operum*, eds. Albert Derolez and Peter Dronke, CCCM 92 (Turnhout, 1996).
Epistolarium, I	*Hildegardis Bingensis Epistolarium. Pars prima* I–XC, ed. Lieven Van Acker, CCCM 91 (Turnhout, 1991).
Epistolarium, II	*Hildegardis Bingensis Epistolarium. Pars secunda* XCI–CCLR, ed. L. Van Acker, CCCM 91A (Turnhout, 1993).

Epistolarium, III	*Hildegardis Bingensis Epistolarium. Pars tertia* CCLI–CCXC, ed. Monika Klaes, CCCM 91B (Turnhout, 2001).
Expl. Atha.	*An Explanation of the Athanasian Creed*, trans. with intro. and commentary Thomas M. Izbicki (Toronto, 2001).
Expl. Symb.	*Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii*, ed. Christopher P. Evans, in *Opera minora*, pp. 109–33.
Expl. Rule	*Explanation of the Rule of Benedict by Hildegard of Bingen*, trans. with intro. and commentary H. Feiss (Toronto, 1990).
Expo. Euang.	*Expositiones euangeliorum*, eds. Beverly M. Kienzle and Carolyn A. Muessig, in *Opera minora*, pp. 185–333.
Letters	*Letters*, trans. Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1994, 1998, 2004).
Life of Hildegard	*The Life of the Saintly Hildegard by Gottfried of Disibodenberg and Theodoric of Echternach*, trans. with notes H. Feiss (Toronto, 1996).
Opera minora	*Hildegardis Bingensis Opera minora*, eds. P. Dronke, C.P. Evans, H. Feiss, B.M. Kienzle, C.A. Muessig, Barbara Newman, CCCM 226 (Turnhout, 2007).
Ordo	*Ordo uirtutum*, ed. P. Dronke, in *Opera minora*, pp. 503–21.
V. Rup.	*Vita sancti Ruperti ducis, confessoris Bingensis*, PL 197:1083–92 (Paris, 1855).
Scivias	*Hildegardis Scivias*, eds. Adelgundis Führkötter and Angela Carlevaris, CCCM 43, 43A (Turnhout, 1978).
Scivias (Eng.)	*Scivias*, trans. Columba Hart and Jane Bishop; intro. B. Newman; pref. Caroline Walker Bynum (New York, 1990).
Solut.	*Solutiones triginta octo quaestionum*, PL 197:1037–54 (Paris, 1855).
Symph.	*Symphonia armonie celestium reuelationum*, ed. B. Newman, in *Opera minora*, pp. 371–477.
Symph. (Eng.)	*Symphonia. A Critical Edition of the Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum* (*Symphony of the Harmony of Celestial Revelations*), ed. B. Newman, with introduction, translations, and commentary, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, 1998).

Two Hagiographies	*Hildegard of Bingen. Two Hagiographies: Vita Sancti Rupperti confessoris, Vita Sancti Dysibodi episcopi*. Intro. and trans. H. Feiss. Ed. C.P. Evans. Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 11 (Paris, 2010).
V. Hild.	*Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, ed. M. Klaes, CCCM 126 (Turnhout, 1993).
Vite mer.	*Hildegardis Liber vite meritorum*, ed. A. Carlevaris, CCCM 90 (Turnhout, 1995).

Secondary Works

Angesicht	*"Im Angesicht Gottes suche der Mensch sich selbst." Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179)*, ed. Rainer Berndt (Berlin, 2001).
Context	*Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art*, eds. Charles Burnett and P. Dronke (London, 1998).
Speaking New Mysteries	B.M. Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and her Gospel Homilies: Speaking New Mysteries* (Turnhout, 2009).
Umfeld	*Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Mainz, 2000).
Voice	*Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. B. Newman (Berkeley, 1998).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors wish to express their gratitude to the persons and institutions that have assisted in various ways in the publication of this book.

Above all, we are indebted to each of the contributors for their willingness and enthusiasm to participate in our endeavor to create *A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*.

We are grateful to several Brill colleagues, particularly Julian Deahl for supporting this volume from the outset, to Arjan van Dijk and especially to Ivo Romein and Wouter Bok for guiding it to its completion, to Christopher Bellitto (Series Editor of Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition) for his advice and encouragement, and to copy editor Meredith McGroarty. The comments provided to us by the anonymous reviewer(s) also helped significantly.

Rebecca Garber skillfully completed the first copy-editing of the volume and the preparation of the preliminary bibliography, manuscript list, and index. She also translated from German the articles by Michael Embach and Susanne Ruge, as well as one of the contributions by Franz Felten. Jenny Bledsoe continued the editing work at later stages and provided research assistance; her stalwart support was invaluable in the preparation of this volume. John Zaleski translated a second essay by Franz Felten.

We benefited from the support we received from staff members at Harvard Divinity School, including Katherine Lou, Daniel Glade, Cole Gustafson, Kimberly Richards O'Hagan, and Kristin Gunst; colleagues at the Andover-Harvard Library and at the Information Technology department were also active in their help. Assistance was also gracefully provided and gratefully received from the libraries of Virginia Tech and of the University of Bristol, as was scholarly advice from Hugh Feiss and Carolyn Muessig.

In regard to the use of images, we would also like to thank the Digitalisierungszentrum of the Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (especially Anna Voellner), as well as the nuns of the Benediktinerinnenabtei St Hildegard in Eibingen. The kindness of Angelo Cardinal Amato and the Rev. Fr. Vincenzo Criscuolo, respectively the Prefect and the Relator General of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, made it possible for works in the Congregation's archive to be consulted.

Needless to say, each of the editors wishes to thank, for many and various reasons, each of the other editors. Personal thanks from Beverly Kienzle go to Christopher Jarvinen for his generous research support, to the students in her Fall 2011 course on Hildegard for their input on several essays, and to the Kienzle family—Edward, Kathleen, six felines and one canine, Mia—for their immeasurable patience with this project.

TIMELINE FOR HILDEGARD OF BINGEN'S LIFE AND WORKS

Life

1098: Birth at Bermersheim
1106–1112: Hildegard entrusted to the recluse Jutta's small community
1112–1150: Hildegard at Disibodenberg, first taking vows with Jutta (d. 1136), then *magistra* herself
1150: Hildegard moved her community to Rupertsberg, near Bingen
Late 1150s–early 1170s: journeys: 1158–1161 (monasteries); 1160 (Trier); 1161, 1163 (Cologne); 1170 (Swabia, including Kirchheim)
1159–1177: Schism between Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the papacy
1165: Hildegard founded her second community at Eibingen, across the Rhine from Rupertsberg
1173: Death of Volmar
1177: Guibert of Gembloux became Hildegard's secretary
1178: Interdict on Rupertsberg
1179: Interdict lifted in March; Hildegard died on 17 September
1227: Canonization proceedings (unsuccessful)
1940: Celebration of her feast day approved for German dioceses
1998: Celebration of her 900th birthday
2012: Benedict XVI canonizes Hildegard and names her a Doctor of the Church

Works (*Dates Indicated When Known*)

1141–1151: composition of *Scivias*
1158–1163: composition of *Liber vite meritorum*
1163–1173/74: composition of *Liber diuinorum operum*
1170: composition of *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi*
Cause et cure
De regula Sancti Benedicti
Epistolarium
Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii
Expositiones euangeliorum
Lingua ignota
Ordo uirtutum

Physica
Solutiones triginta octo quaestionum
Symphonia armonie celestium reuelationum
Vita Sanctae Hildegardis (Four contributors: Hildegard, Gottfried of Disibodenberg, Theodoric of Echternach, Guibert of Gembloux)

THE REGION OF HILDEGARD OF BINGEN

INTRODUCTION

Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Debra L. Stoudt

No other medieval woman, and indeed few medieval men, achieved the level of Saint Hildegard of Bingen's literary and artistic production. This fourth female Doctor of the Church composed a trilogy of visionary treatises (*Scivias, Liber vite meritorum*, and *Liber diuinorum operum*); the *Ordo uirtutum*, the first extant morality play; the lives of Sts Disibod and Rupert; the *Expositiones euangeliorum*, fifty-eight homilies on the gospels; the liturgical songs of the *Symphonia*; commentaries on the Rule of Benedict and the Athanasian Creed; the *Solutiones triginta octo quaestionum*; an original language—the *Lingua ignota*;[1] more than 300 letters addressed to a range of audiences from popes to lay people; and at least portions of the *Cause et cure*, a medical work on the humors, and the *Physica*, a description of the characteristics of plants, elements, trees, stones, fish, birds, animals, reptiles, and metals, and in some instances their medicinal properties. Hildegard's extensive contributions to Christian thought are recognized in her being named as a Doctor of the Church on October 7, 2012. Prior canonization efforts that began in the 1230s finally achieved their goal when Pope Benedict XVI declared Hildegard's equivalent canonization on May 10, 2012.

This volume introduces Hildegard and her works as well as the historical, literary, and religious context of her writings and music. Studies of Hildegard's *opera* have focused for the most part on her visionary writings and, to a lesser degree, her letters. Scholars who approach the seer's works from the perspective of her visions have viewed Hildegard not only as the exceptional person she was, but also at times as a unique phenomenon. However, in the 12th-century Rhineland, visions and erudition were not out of the ordinary, nor was monastic learning. While Hildegard was extraordinary with regard to her extensive *opera*, she was still the product of a rich cultural milieu. Few overviews of Hildegard's historical and cultural world provide the English-speaking scholar with a firm foundation of her life and writings in their monastic context. Much German scholarship

[1] For more on the *Lingua ignota*, see the appendix to this volume by George Ferzoco, "Notes on Hildegard's 'Unknown' Language and Writing."

as well emphasizes the extraordinary without regard to the monastic culture in which Hildegard was educated and continued to learn. The current volume provides essays by leading German- and English-speaking scholars that explore the cultural context for her life and work, as well as understudied aspects of Hildegard's works, such as the interconnections among her works.

Hildegard's 900th birthday in 1998 was celebrated at conferences whose collected scholarship advanced our knowledge about Hildegard and her cultural world.[2] Those works include: *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art*, edited by Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke; *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, edited by Alfred Haverkamp; and *"Im Angesicht Gottes suche der Mensch sich selbst": Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179)*, edited by Rainer Berndt.[3] Other collections of scholarly merit aim at a more general audience and either offer an introduction to Hildegard studies or place the seer in the context of mystical theology.[4] Franz Felten, a contributor to this volume and to these anniversary volumes, assesses the contributions of the anniversary research in a 2003 article.[5]

The first decade of this century saw the publication of editions, translations, and studies of the seer's works.[6] *Hildegardis Bingensis Opera minora*, edited by Peter Dronke, Christopher P. Evans, Hugh Feiss, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Carolyn A. Muessig, and Barbara Newman, brings together in one volume texts that relate to various dimensions of the liturgy at Rupertsberg: the *Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii (Explanation on the Athanasian Creed)*, the *De regula Sancti Benedicti (Explanation on*

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[2] Two decades earlier, an upsurge in Hildegard studies followed the publication of Anton Philipp Brück, ed., *Hildegard von Bingen—1179–1979. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen* (Mainz, 1979).

[3] Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke, eds., *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art* (London, 1998); Alfred Haverkamp, ed., *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld* (Mainz, 2000); Rainer Berndt, ed., *"Im Angesicht Gottes suche der Mensch sich selbst": Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179)* (Berlin, 2001).

[4] See, notably, Barbara Newman, ed., *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World* (Berkeley, 1998); Maud B. McInerney, ed., *Hildegard of Bingen: A Book of Essays* (New York, 1998); Edeltraud Forster and Konvent der Benedikterinnenabtei St. Hildegard, eds., *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten. Zum 900. Geburtstag* (Freiburg, 1997); and Änne Bäumer-Schleinkofer, ed., *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem Umfeld—Mystik und Visionsformen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Katholizismus und Protestantismus im Dialog* (Würzburg, 2001).

[5] Franz J. Felten, "Hildegard von Bingen, 1098–1998—oder Was bringen Jubiläen für die Wissenschaft?" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 59 (2003): 165–94.

[6] For a more extensive review of scholarship on Hildegard, see Beverly Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and her Gospel Homilies: Speaking New Mysteries*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts 12 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 303–10.

the Rule of St. Benedict), the *Expositiones euangeliorum*, the *Symphonia*, and the *Ordo uirtutum*.[7] An edition of the *Vita Sancti Rupperti confessoris*, *Vita Sancti Dysibodi episcopi*, the *Solutiones triginta octo quaestionum*, and other short texts is forthcoming from the *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis*.[8] Beverly Kienzle's *Hildegard of Bingen and her Gospel Homilies* constitutes the first comprehensive study of the *Expositiones* and Hildegard's exegesis.[9] The vast reception of Hildegard's works is now elucidated in Michael Embach's *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*.[10] New English translations of Hildegard's works have been published: Hugh Feiss's *Two Hagiographies*, a Latin edition and translation of the lives of Sts Rupert and Disibod; Sarah L. Higley's edition and translation of *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language*; and Beverly Kienzle's translation of the *Homilies on the Gospels*.[11] An English translation of the *Solutions to Thirty-Eight Questions* will be published in 2014.[12]

Recent research on the libraries, education, writings, and artistic production of medieval religious women in German-speaking lands vastly enriches our knowledge of their intellectual environment. Notable in this regard are: Alison Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* and *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: The Twelfth-Century Renaissance in Germany*; Fiona Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*; and the magnificent collaborative exhibition and catalog *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern*.[13]

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[7] *Hildegardis Bingensis Opera minora*, eds. Peter Dronke, Christopher P. Evans, Hugh Feiss, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Carolyn A. Muessig, and Barbara Newman, CCCM 226 (Turnhout, 2007).

[8] We are grateful to Christopher Evans, editor of the *Solutiones*, for this information.

[9] Kienzle, *Speaking New Mysteries*.

[10] Michael Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2003).

[11] Hildegard of Bingen, *Two Hagiographies: Vita Sancti Rupperti Confessoris and Vita Sancti Dysibodi Episcopi*, intro. and trans. by Hugh Feiss, Latin ed. Christopher P. Evans (Paris, 2010); Sarah L. Higley, ed. and trans., *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language: An Edition, Translation, and Discussion* (New York, 2007); and Hildegard of Bingen, *Homilies on the Gospels*, trans. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Trappist, Ky., 2011).

[12] Hildegard of Bingen, *Solutions to Thirty-Eight Questions*, trans. by Beverly Mayne Kienzle with Jenny C. Bledsoe and Stephen Behnke, intro. and notes by Beverly Mayne Kienzle with Jenny C. Bledsoe (Trappist, Ky., forthcoming 2014).

[13] Alison L. Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (Cambridge, 2004); Alison L. Beach, ed., *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: The Twelfth-Century Renaissance in Germany* (Turnhout, 2006); Fiona Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 2006); and *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern, Kunst- und*

A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen builds on these earlier studies and presents to an English-speaking audience various facets of Hildegard's historical persona and her cultural significance, so that the reader can grasp and appreciate the scope of Hildegard's life and works. The present volume provides a valuable scholarly collection from international scholars for both undergraduate and graduate students. The *Companion*'s thought-provoking chapters not only constitute informative analyses of Hildegard's oeuvre but also identify avenues for further exploration.

Five essays in the volume—two by Franz Felten, as well as those by Constant Mews, Felix Heinzer, and Justin Stover—elucidate the rich context—historical, monastic, scholastic, and spiritual—for Hildegard's life and works. Felten's essays scrutinize available documents for the history of Disibodenberg and Rupertsberg. His first essay addresses the question, "What Do We Know About the Life of Jutta and Hildegard at Disibodenberg and Rupertsberg?" Of the many questions concerning Disibodenberg, one of the most frequently posed, and still unresolved, is: where did Hildegard live? Or more precisely: where was Hildegard's cloister? We know that Hildegard was "enclosed" with Jutta and another girl at Disibodenberg in 1112 and that Jutta made her monastic vows at this time. Nowhere, however, do we learn where the cloister was situated or what it looked like. Felten draws on the 9th-century rule of Grimlaicus to describe what such cloisters would normally look like: small and narrow spaces, with contact with the outside world only through a window. In many cases, several people lived in the same enclosure. They would have had private cells connected by a window in order to enable joint prayer and reading of Scripture, as well as to accommodate common meals. If possible, the enclosure contained a small garden for growing vegetables and for taking in the fresh air. In conclusion, Felten explores textual evidence to reconstruct the everyday lives of Hildegard and Jutta at Disibodenberg and Rupertsberg.

In "St Disibod and the History of the Disibodenberg up to the Beginning of the 12th Century," Felten surveys the sources available for an exploration of the early history of the Disibodenberg and analyses the limited number of sources that the archivist and historian Heinrich Büttner identified in his 1934 study as useful for such historical reconstruction. The sparse documentary history of the Disibodenberg begins with Archbishop

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Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn und dem Ruhrlandmuseum Essen (Munich: Hirmer; Bonn and Essen: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn und dem Ruhrlandmuseum Essen, 2005).

Ruthard's charter of 1108, confirming the house's transformation into a Benedictine monastery. Other texts include a contract of exchange with Mariengraden in 1112, the return of property by Archbishop Adalbert, the arbitration between Disibodenberg and St Martin in Bingen in 1124, the confirmation of a donation of a tithe in 1127, and, of primary importance, Archbishop Adalbert's confirmation charter from 1128. According to Heinrich Büttner, these sources are the only means by which scholars can reconstruct the monastery's early history. With regard to St Disibod, the *martyrologium* composed by Hrabanus Maurus around 840/850, which is the oldest textual witness, states only briefly that the death of the holy confessor is celebrated on September 8 in the diocese of Mainz (*in suburbanis M. ecclesiae*). Disibod does not even appear in the popular martyrologies of the early Middle Ages, i.e. those attributed to the Venerable Bede, Florus of Lyon, and Usuardus of St Germain des Prés. He appears by name beginning in the 11th century in the documents from Trier. For details on this period, only the *Vita sancti Disibodi episcope* remains; Hildegard dictated it in 1170 from the visions she had received. Although Hildegard's *Vita Disibodi* is situated within the context of her visionary experience, critical historians recognized rather early that the high proportion of biblical references and hagiographic commonplaces contained in the *vita* require no visions. In any case, Hildegard's *vita* of St Disibod has been read and copied since the Middle Ages, and until the present, the historical Disibod has been entangled in embellishments and interpretations. Felten discusses Hildegard's text in detail in order to distinguish between sources and interpretations and to make a comparison between the seer's *vita* of Disibod and the history recounted by later authors—from Trithemius (around 1500) to Remling (1836) and Büttner (1934) and up to Fell (1999).

Constant Mews, in "Hildegard of Bingen and the Hirsau Reform in Germany 1080–1180," situates Hildegard within the broader climate of religious reform in Germany in the late 11th and 12th centuries, influenced in particular by the precedent set by Hirsau but adopted by many other new and reformed religious communities. He places her experience at Disibodenberg as part of this reform movement. After explaining how Hildegard would have become familiar with major authors of the reform movement, Mews posits that Hildegard's leadership of Rupertsberg reveals a further development of tendencies present at Hirsau.

Felix Heinzer compares Hildegard's visionary experiences and writings to one of her contemporaries, the visionary Elisabeth of Schönau. In his essay, "Unequal Twins: Visionary Attitude and Monastic Culture in

Elisabeth of Schönau and Hildegard of Bingen," Heinzer seeks to diversify the modern notion of medieval visionary experience and the textual records of such experience. One of the main contrasts between Hildegard and Elisabeth manifests itself in their experience of and relationship to the liturgy. Hildegard's visionary ecstasy produces musical works, and thus in a way creates liturgy. On the other hand, Elisabeth's immersion in liturgy, with its strongly biblically rooted texts, provides an "objective" reference for her Christologically oriented visions. Thus, in one case vision produces liturgy, and in the other liturgy produces vision.

The fundamental differences between the two visionary cultures, which we are able to observe in Elisabeth and Hildegard, must also be considered in relation to their biographical context. Until her death in 1163, Elisabeth remained firmly in the restrictive conditions of her double monastery, while Hildegard, after her departure from Disibodenberg, enjoyed considerable autonomy, ruling as superior of her new foundation in Rupertsberg. This process of charismatically legitimated emancipation from her established monastic background might also have led to the self-assured nonconformism of musical and textual language in her so-called liturgical creations, which clearly and deliberately diverge from canonical tradition. It is exactly this nonconformist aspect that seems to make Hildegard's writings—as an offspring of what we might call an emancipated career—appear more spectacular than Elisabeth's, at least from a modern point of view. Consequently, Hildegard rather than Elisabeth has dominated modern scholarly and popular interest. This appears all the more interesting when one considers the medieval resonance of their respective works: nearly 150 extant manuscripts attest to the broad and international spread of Elisabeth's work, which reached England beginning around 1170 and at the beginning of the 13th century was known as far as Iceland. Hildegard's writings during the same period were not as widely disseminated. Furthermore, Heinzer argues that Elisabeth's religious culture already shows features akin to what one might call "Gothic" spirituality, while Hildegard is still very "Romanesque."

Justin Stover explores the links between Hildegard and the scholastic world of the mid-12th century in "Hildegard, the Schools, and their Critics." Stover addresses three key questions. To what degree was Hildegard influenced by the cosmological doctrines actively discussed in the Rhineland in the early 12th century? What knowledge did she have of the doctrines propounded in the schools of Paris and Chartres? What was her own evaluation of her fellow monastics' critiques of the scholastics and cosmologists? Stover considers the fascinating parallels between some

of Hildegard's works, such as her *Liber diuinorum operum*, and those of her contemporaries, such as William of Conches (d. *c.*1154) and Bernardus Silvestris (d. 1178), and he tackles the difficult question of whether these parallels reveal any sort of direct influence. Furthermore, Stover considers the possibility of the seer's familiarity with the cosmological doctrines current in the Rhineland, which were based above all on the late-antique neo-Platonic scholar Macrobius and were fervently critiqued by Manegold of Lautenbach (d. *c.*1103) and Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129). Stover argues that Hildegard must have had a considerable knowledge of contemporary intellectual life; the veiled attacks on scholastics in her *Expositiones euangeliorum* show a deep and fruitful continuity with the polemics of her colleagues in Northern France, such as Bernard of Clairvaux's friend and collaborator William of St Thierry (d. 1148). Moreover, Letter 40R to the scholastic Odo of Soissons (d. *c.*1168), concerning the teaching of Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154), who was put on trial at Reims in 1148, confirms her considerable knowledge of scholastic debates and her sympathy for their religious opponents. In all, Hildegard deserves a distinguished place among the 12th-century monastic critics of the schools.

Several essays focus their analysis on Hildegard's oeuvre: her evocation of Ezekiel in multiple works; her music in the *Symphonia* and *Ordo uirtutum*; the *Liber vite meritorum*; the medical and scientific writings collected in the *Cause et cure* and the *Physica*; and the *Lingua ignota*. Beverly Kienzle and Travis Stevens, in "Intertextuality in Hildegard's Works: Ezekiel and the Claim to Prophetic Authority," assert that Hildegard of Bingen's *opera* demonstrate a remarkable organic unity in thought and language. The analysis of intertextuality—charting various word-concepts, images, and related themes across the *magistra*'s works—opens a fruitful avenue for comprehending her entire allegorical universe. Hildegard's works constitute a vast exegetical corpus that grounds its authority on visionary understanding inspired by the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. Ezekiel stands out among the prophets for his influence on the *magistra*'s claim to authority, the literary form of her visionary writing, and the imagery that connects word and thought across her *opera*. She devotes a lengthy letter (84R) to the exegesis of key passages in the prophet's book. Kienzle and Stevens explore Hildegard's interpretation of Ezekiel in that letter as well as in the numerous instances in her other works where she alludes to the book of Ezekiel or draws on it to develop her imagery and thought. Descriptions of circles, notably the wheels that the prophet envisions, unite Hildegard's treatment of various themes, including virginity, the workings of the Trinity, and the actions of virtues in the human body.

Finally, the authors examine which aspects of Hildegard's exegesis have precedents in patristic commentators, notably Origen, Jerome, and Gregory the Great, and which features appear in 12th-century visual culture, notably manuscript illumination.

The music and imagery of Hildegard's *Ordo uirtutum* and *Symphonia* have intrigued scholars and also delighted general audiences. The lack of known liturgical manuscripts from Hildegard's monasteries themselves, or from monasteries in her immediate network, has fueled much debate. In September 1998, Felix Heinzer delivered the paper "Hildegard und ihr liturgisches Umfeld" at the conference "Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld, Internationaler wissenschaftlicher Kongress zum 900jährigen Jubiläum, Bingen" (the proceedings of which have not yet been published) and argued that Hildegard's monastic background was marked by the Hirsau movement. In earlier publications, Heinzer discussed the state of knowledge on the Hirsau liturgy,[14] including the manuscript Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 103 and the work of Ephrem Omlin, who first identified Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 103 with Disibodenberg but did not think it was produced during Hildegard's lifetime.[15] Heinzer's work has influenced a number of Hildegard scholars, who have associated the codex, an early 13th-century manuscript for the Divine Office, with Hildegard's liturgical environment and specifically with Disibodenberg.

Two essays in this volume advance the scholarly discussion of Hildegard's music. Three scholars—Tova Leigh-Choate, William T. Flynn, and Margot E. Fassler—collaborate to provide an extraordinarily rich discussion of the *Ordo uirtutum* and *Symphonia*, and of Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek 103.

In "Hearing the Heavenly Symphony: An Overview of Hildegard's Musical Oeuvre with Case Studies," the authors explore the musical dimensions of Hildegard's vision of the heavenly symphony as put forth in *Scivias* 3.13 and notated in surviving collections of her music: 77 liturgical songs and the *Ordo uirtutum*, with more than 80 melodies. Leigh-Choate, Flynn, and Fassler provide a summary of Hildegard's works, their medieval sources, and their modern editions, as well as an annotated survey of related

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[14] Felix Heinzer, "Der Hirsauer 'Liber Ordinarius,'" *Revue Bénédictine* 102 (1992): 309–47, and the articles collected in Heinzer's book *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 39 (Leiden, 2008), pp. 85–408.

[15] Ephrem Omlin, "Das ältere Engelberger Osterspiel und der cod. 103 der Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg," in *Corolla heremitana: Neue Beiträge zur Kunst und Geschichte Einsiedelns und der Innerschweiz*, eds. Albert Knoepfli, P. Maximilian Roesle, and Alfred A. Schmid (Olten, 1964), pp. 101–26, at 121. ("Es wäre schön, die Hs. 103 mit der heiligen Hildegard [d.1179] in Zusammenhang zu bringen.")

musicological scholarship and an exploration of chronology in Hildegard's oeuvre. They then offer two analytical case studies: first, a discussion of Hildegard's musical language in the notated *Scivias* song *O vos angeli* and its correspondence with 12th-century, regional music theory; and second, an investigation of musical mode and range, as well as the scriptural framework of the Virtues, in *Ordo uirtutum*. The authors conclude that both case studies reveal the *Scivias* as a foundation upon which the seer's entire musical oeuvre must be understood.

In their second essay, "Hildegard as Musical Hagiographer: Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 103 and Her Songs for Saints Disibod and Ursula," Leigh-Choate, Flynn, and Fassler address Hildegard's role as a musical hagiographer, that is, a composer of liturgical songs for saints. In her antiphons, responsories, and sequences, Hildegard reinterpreted the local and universal cults of saints and left clues about her associations with monastic communities beyond her own. The three scholars first investigate Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek 103, and through analysis of the *sanctorale*, including material for St Disibod, the authors propose a different regional provenance, the monastery of Sponheim rather than Disibodenberg. They then offer case studies of Hildegard's songs for saints: first, her Disibod songs; second, her sequences, with a focus on *O Ecclesia*; and third, her eight antiphons for St Ursula, for which the authors propose a new order.

Susanne Ruge focuses on Hildegard's second and little-studied visionary treatise in "The Theology of Repentance: Observations on the *Liber vite meritorum*." Ruge argues that, as Louis Baillet calls the *Scivias* a "*Summa theologiae* in a series of illuminations," the same can be said of the *Liber vite meritorum*. In this second treatise, Hildegard as teacher unfolds the entirety of salvation for the reader, as she represents God, humankind, and the cosmos in their interconnected relationships. Regularly recurring themes in the visionary interpretations include descriptions of visions that portray the afterlife, in particular Purgatory, as well as dialogues between virtues and vices. Yet, Ruge argues, the most important theme may well be the concrete instructions for penitential behavior that appear at the respective ends of the first five of the six total sections; these are expressly linked to the particular vices portrayed. Ruge explains that the regularity of the structure indicates an intentional assembly of textual genres and provides the *Liber vite meritorum* with a unique profile. Unlike the *Scivias*, the *Liber vite meritorum* contains only one central, visionary image: a man stands in the cosmos, his head in the clouds of the ether and his feet above the waters of the abyss. All other visionary material that appears

over the course of the text can be and is interpreted through this foundational image. The anchoring of themes to a single image results in a text in which the reader can mark and learn individual themes according to the elements of the image. Readers can replay the relationships before their eyes. In all of Hildegard's visionary works, the entirety of theology remains constantly in view. Each of the three visionary texts, however, has a different focus on the whole. Even the call to conversion and penance, which appears in all three works, has different characteristics in each. Ruge argues that the *Liber vite meritorum*, as a sermon calling for self-examination and personal penance within a theologically comprehensive image, represents the visionary work of Hildegard that addresses individual believers most strongly.

Debra L. Stoudt's essay, "The Medical, the Magical, and the Miraculous in the Healing Arts of Hildegard of Bingen," focuses on the scientific and medical writings by or commonly attributed to Hildegard. The relationship of the *magistra*'s views concerning the healing arts to her theology is compelling. Despite her cloistered status, Hildegard had strong ties to the world around her, as evidenced in her letters, with their prophecies and advice to political leaders. From her travels and the visitors she received, she had the opportunity to become aware firsthand of current knowledge, theories, beliefs, and practices regarding the healing arts. The 12th century witnessed changing attitudes toward magic and the rediscovery of medical texts, while belief in and reverence toward the miraculous remained a constant. Stoudt's essay examines the categories of medical, magical, and miraculous, how Hildegard considers those ways of healing in her oeuvre, and how the *magistra*'s characterization of healing differs in her various writings. Stoudt compares Hildegard's medical views with those of her contemporaries in the scientific and theological fields, and she discusses the impact of sociohistorical factors on her perspectives.

Michael Embach, in "Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179): A History of Reception," explores the widespread reception history of Hildegard's works, which include manuscripts, early printed books, and mentions of Hildegard in various literary contexts. Embach demonstrates that the effect of Hildegard in her lifetime was strongly felt in the monastery of Rupertsberg and other abbeys and monasteries, such as the abbeys of Sts Eucharius and Matthias in Trier, and the abbeys in Zwiefalten and Gembloux. Hildegard was soon regarded not only by Benedictines but also by Cistercians as a great visionary and monastic reform author. The targeted dissemination of manuscripts proceeded at this time in a highly author-controlled and corporate way. At the center of this early phase of recep-

tion stand the visionary works: the *Scivias*, *Liber vite meritorum*, and *Liber diuinorum operum*. Her *Epistolarium* was also widely disseminated. Different parts of Hildegard's Letter 15R to the clergy of Cologne were read in a sense as separate tracts and sharpened the image of Hildegard as a stern admonisher.

After the death of Hildegard, there were efforts to make the holy seer speak. The writings of Hildegard played an important role in this effort. Before the era of the canonization hearings (1220/1230), the following texts were produced: the now-lost illuminated *Scivias* (Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek 1), the final edition of the Riesenkodex (Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek 2), the *Vita Hildegardis*, and the *Acta canonizationis*. Hildegard was further popularized by the *Pentachronon* of the Cistercian Gebeno of Eberbach, a compilation of excerpts from the writings of Hildegard drawn particularly from the apocalyptic portions of the *Scivias* and the *Liber diuinorum operum*. However, the success of Hildegard's original writings quickly surpassed the *Pentachronon*. Hildegard thus acquired the roles of apocalyptic authority, prophetess, and sibyl.

According to Embach's research, Hildegard's writings on nature and healing and her musical oeuvre were clearly in the background when compared to the visionary works, as were her writings included in her *Opera minora*. The earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Liber simplicis medicinae* (*Physica*) and the *Liber compositae medicinae* (*Cause et cure*) date from the late 13th century. They have not had much impact, as Hildegard did not influence the field of academic, university medicine. In the 15th century, the learned Benedictine Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) attempted to popularize Hildegard, aiming to revive her cult. Trithemius copied her writings and took into account historiographical works. At that time, Hildegard's name was already familiar in numerous regional and world chronicles, whose influence reached to England, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and as far as Bohemia. In the 13th century, Hildegard also enjoyed a reputation in Paris, the center of academic theology. England exhibits an independent variant in the history of Hildegard's reception; this was evident above all in the pseudo-Hildegardian prophecy *Insurgent gentes*. This text transplanted Hildegard's letter to the clergy in Cologne into an anti-mendicant context. Authors such as William Langland (*c.*1325–88), Geoffrey Chaucer (*c.*1340–1400), John Gower (*c.*1330–1408), and others drew from it.

The earliest printed editions of Hildegard's works appeared in the first half of the 16th century. In addition to the *Scivias* (Paris, 1513), edited by French humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (*c.*1450–1536), there was

also an (illustrated) edition of the *Vita Ruperti* (Oppenheim, 1524) and the *Physica* (Strasbourg, 1533). At the time of the Council of Trent and the Catholic Reform, Hildegard became the figurehead of an explicitly anti-Protestant, ultramontane Catholic theology. As such, her works were included in large collections of patristic and medieval texts.

Between the 16th and 18th centuries, numerous textual tendencies appeared that pushed the interpretation of Hildegard's works towards very different ideological emphases that reflect the tension between humanism and confessionalism. Hildegard was put forward variously as a prototypical follower of Wyclif, Hus, and Luther; an opponent of the Jesuits and popes; and a stern admonisher of the clergy, politics, and worldly status. In these cases, Hildegard's works were frequently mixed with those of Joachim of Fiore, Birgitta of Sweden, Elisabeth of Schönau, and other prophetic authors. Hildegard was often stylized as the "trumpet of God," making an urgent call to repentance. Finally, Embach argues that the modern reception of Hildegard is characterized by bold stereotyping, and the basis of textual transmission occurs with these stereotypes continuously in the background.

George Ferzoco, in "The Canonization and Doctorization of Hildegard of Bingen," asserts that the canonization process of Hildegard of Bingen holds the dubious—or honorable—distinction of being the longest in the history of the Church. Begun shortly after her death, several attempts were made by the see of Mainz over the course of the following decades; however, each effort was thwarted, largely due to administrative shortcomings and particularly to poor collection and transmission of testimony. Despite this, Hildegard was not only regarded as a living holy woman but also, in the years following her death, as a saint. This article demonstrates the ways in which the *magistra*'s cult flourished despite the absence of papal approbation. Furthermore, it notes the gradual increase in fame and devotion to Hildegard over the past century. Finally, it examines the unusual interest demonstrated by Pope Benedict XVI, which culminated not only in her canonization in May 2012 but also in the astounding declaration of her being a Doctor of the Church in October of the same year. This study is followed, in an appendix, by a brief presentation of one of Hildegard's more unique gifts: the reception of a divinely provided alphabet and language.

In conclusion, this book provides a broad as well as in-depth introduction to Hildegard of Bingen's works and her place in medieval religious culture. Moreover, it signals areas where scholars may develop further research in the field. German- and English-speaking scholars explore

topics ranging from the seer's immediate surroundings at Disibodenberg and Rupertsberg to her historical, intellectual, and religious milieu and her extensive works. Two concluding essays discuss the reception of Hildegard's works and her canonization and doctorization in 2012. Taken together, the chapters in this volume testify to the dazzling expanse of Hildegard's oeuvre and demonstrate the keen interest that her works and her person continue to command.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE LIFE OF JUTTA AND HILDEGARD AT DISIBODENBERG AND RUPERTSBERG?*

Franz J. Felten

Of the many questions concerning Disibodenberg, one of the most frequently posed, and still unresolved, is: where did Hildegard live? Or more precisely: where was Hildegard's cell? We know that Hildegard was "enclosed" with Jutta and another girl at Disibodenberg in 1112 and that Jutta made her monastic vows at this time. Nowhere, however, do we find out where the cell was situated or what it looked like. In general, we can imagine such cells as resembling small and narrow dungeons, with contact with the outside world only through a window—although in many cases, there were cells for several people. According to the 9th-century rule of Grimlaicus, the area of the enclosure should contain everything necessary. If a priest lives in the enclosure, he should have his own *oratorium* consecrated by the bishop. His cell should adjoin the convent church so that he can celebrate Mass and the daily office with the brothers through a window (*simul cum eis possit psallere*) and be able to converse with visitors. Inside the enclosure there should be, if possible, a small garden, to allow for the growth of vegetables and for bodily refreshment in the open air. The disciples or students should live outside in a cell immediately adjoining the cloister, so that they may take care of all necessities for the enclosed through a window opening outwards. If there are several people in one enclosure, they should have private cells connected by a window in order to enable joint prayer and reading of Scripture. Joint meal times were also possible. (How, we might ask, did such an arrangement differ from a small convent?)

Grimlaicus had only men in mind, and thus attached particular importance to the rule that no female visitors should come to the cloister.

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* Translated by John Zaleski, Harvard University. A much shorter version of this essay was published in German as "Was wissen wir über das Leben Juttas und Hildegards auf dem Disibodenberg und auf dem Rupertsberg?" in *Als Hildegard noch nicht in Bingen war. Der Disibodenberg—Archäologie und Geschichte*, eds. Falko Daim and Antje Kluge-Pinsker (Regensburg/Mainz, 2009), pp. 111–13. The editors and Brill gratefully acknowledge the permission of Falko Daim and Antje Kluge-Pinsker, as well as that of Verlag Schnell und Steiner, to publish an English translation in this volume. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the editors of this volume for the publication of the revised original text and to the translator of this essay.

Confession and spiritual counsel should take place only at the window of the church, openly and publicly (*coram omnibus*). It obviously follows from this that the convent church should not belong to the monastic enclosure. Above all, Grimlaicus warns of the perils of physical contact, especially with worldly women, and of kissing, one of the four forms of carnal love. Even the mere sight of women might be dangerous. It is thus useful to hang a curtain both inside and outside the window.[1]

Other rules occasionally include information concerning the size, appearance, and location of cloisters; however, the "records and remains of such cells are so meager that we can only construct a scanty picture of their appearance."[2] Nevertheless, in the current remains at Disibodenberg, archaeologists have sought traces of buildings that meet the criteria identified in the first two paragraphs above—and in the process they have come to completely different conclusions.[3]

The idea that the three young women in 1112 were not simply admitted or "enclosed" in a cloister, but rather were immured during a formal ceremony is confirmed through Guibert, a Benedictine from Gembloux who stayed as a guest at Rupertsberg from 1178 to 1180. In his letters, especially Ep. 38, Guibert gives a vivid description of Rupertsberg in his time as well as of the solemn enclosure of the three young women with its crowds of visitors.[4] The description, which ends with the prayers recited during the enclosure,[5] is part of a proper *Vita Juttae*. This, in turn, constitutes about half of a lengthy *Vita Hildegardis*, which was abruptly broken off sometime before 1148.[6]

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[1] Grimlaicus, *Regula Solitariorum*, 6, PL 103: 594–95 (Paris, 1851). Referencing Basil and Jerome, he warns against conversations with women as well as gazing at them or touching them ("Non autem a collocutione mulierum, verum etiam ab ipso visu et tacto illis est observandum"), because in such cases the purity of the soul would be marred. Kissing would be even more strongly forbidden: "quia osculum una est ex quatuor speciebus amoris carnalis. Diligendae sunt autem mulieres non carnaliter, sed spiritualiter."

[2] Ottmar Doerr, *Das Institut der Inclusen in Süddeutschland*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 18 (Münster, 1934), p. 40.

[3] These are explained clearly in Eberhard J. Nikitsch, *Kloster Disibodenberg. Religiosität, Kunst und Kultur im mittleren Naheland* (Regensburg, 1998), and Gabriele Mergenthaler, *Die mittelalterliche Baugeschichte des Benediktiner- und Zisterzienserklosters Disibodenberg. Zwischen Tradition und Reform*, Heimatkundliche Schriftenreihe des Landkreises Bad Kreuznach 32 (Bad Kreuznach, 2003).

[4] Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae quae in Codice B.R. Brux. 5527–5534 inveniantur*, ed. Albert Derolez, CCCM 66, 66A (Turnhout, 1988/1989).

[5] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 372, ll. 201–13.

[6] Ibid., pp. 370–75, ll. 136–297; cf. *V. Hild.*, pp. 24–59, and *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis: Canonizatio Sanctae Hildegardis = Leben der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen: Kanonisation der*

All of the other sources—the contemporary *Annales S. Disibodi*, the *vita* of Jutta written by a monk of Disibodenberg at the request of the abbot,[7] and Hildegard's *vita*—are astonishingly devoid of information concerning the beginning of female religious life at Disibodenberg. We must therefore ask where Guibert, who wrote at least 66 years after the events in question and then revised his letters even later (1204–1213), got his information—especially since he does not, generally speaking, enjoy the best reputation as a historian. The most obvious thought is that Hildegard had given Guibert a detailed account of the events. Guibert indeed boasted of a close intimacy with Hildegard, but in this case he does not cite her—and in her own texts Hildegard is quite laconic, above all concerning Jutta. She makes no remark at all about the ceremony of 1112; for her, what is important in retrospect is that in her eighth year of life she was offered to God for a spiritual life.[8] That Hildegard (born 1098) was eight at the time of her enclosure at Disibodenberg would seem to conflict with the account of the annals of the cloister, which record that construction at Disibodenberg first began in 1108.[9] Above all, it apparently conflicts with the explicit statement that Jutta was enclosed on November 1, 1112 (with three companions!), and lived there for 24 years as an *inclusa*.[10] In an effort to resolve these contradictions, it has been suggested that when Hildegard was eight years old, she was entrusted, not to Jutta, but to the widow Uda, and that she came to know Jutta through her.[11] Hildegard, however, makes express mention only of a "noble woman, to whom I was entrusted for my education"[12]—this is clearly Jutta—and she explicitly names

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Heiligen Hildegard, ed. Monika Klaes, Fontes Christiani 29 (Freiburg, 1998), pp. 27–30. See note 36, Ep. 42.

[7] "Vita domnae Juttae inclusae," ed. Franz Staab, "Reform und Reformgruppen im Erzbistum Mainz. Vom 'Libellus de Willigisi consuetudinibus' zur 'Vita domnae Juttae inclusae,' in *Reformidee und Reformpolitik im spätsalisch-frühstaufischen Reich. Vorträge zur Tagung der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte vom 11. bis 13. September 1991 in Trier*, eds. Stefan Weinfurter and Hubertus Seibert, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 68 (Mainz, 1992), pp. 119–87; the *vita* itself covers pp. 172–87. Franz Staab, "Aus Kindheit und Lehrzeit Hildegards. Mit einer Übersetzung der Vita ihrer Lehrerin Jutta von Sponheim," in *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten. Zum 900. Geburtstag*, ed. Edeltraud Forster (Freiburg, 1997), pp. 58–86.

[8] The autobiographic fragment states only: "In octauo autem anno meo in spiritualem conuersationem Deo oblata sum." *V. Hild.*, 2.2, p. 23. The author of the *vita* transforms this to: "recluditur in monte sancti Disibodi"; *V. Hild.*, 1.1, p. 6.

[9] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 17 (Hannover, 1861), pp. 20 and 25.

[10] *Vita Juttae*, 7.1, p. 181.

[11] Staab, "Aus Kindheit und Lehrzeit Hildegards," pp. 65–66.

[12] *V. Hild.*, 2.2, p. 23.

Disibodenberg as the place at which she had been "offered to God."[13] Guibert likewise names Disibodenberg as the place of her *conversio*.[14] According to him, when the rumor spread (*fama dispergente*) that Jutta was going to move into the cloister at Disibodenberg, Hildegard's parents begged Jutta to take their daughter with her.[15] Suggestions that Jutta and Hildegard lived jointly under the leadership of Uda, in whichever of the proposed locations, have no basis at all in the sources. In any case, such proposals cannot fill the gap between 1106 and 1112, if Jutta took up the *vita religiosa* at 12 years of age (that is, in 1104) and lived only three years under the leadership of her teacher Uda.

If we are to believe Guibert, Jutta strove for a solitary life in a cloister from the beginning and chose Disibodenberg due to its secluded location and the religious zeal of the local population. Guibert also claims that Jutta had the cloister built there herself. This could be a somewhat idiosyncratic interpretation of the gift Jutta's brother made to the monks so that she could be enclosed (*ut includeretur*, as is written in the confirmation document from 1128).[16] We will come back to this point. According to Guibert, Jutta especially valued the fact that, due to the cloister's location, no one was burdened either by the presence of the cloister or by the arrival of visitors, nor was Jutta herself bothered in any way; rather, without the din of the people (*absque populari strepitu*) she was able to join the monks in the day and night offices with complete liberty.[17] Jutta was also the one who fixed the feast of All Saints as the day of the enclosure, a date included both in the *Vita Juttae* and the annals of Disibodenberg.

Guibert next relates the plea of Hildegard's parents and the ceremony of the enclosure. In the absence of other sources, Guibert could only describe the enclosure as he imagined it—as it should have been according to the well-known rules and rituals of his time.[18] Strangely, however, he makes no mention of either an abbot or a bishop. He focuses on the parts of the ceremony that are oriented toward death rituals. In his words,

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[13] Ibid., 2.5, p. 27.

[14] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 376, l. 334.

[15] Ibid., p. 372, ll. 186–200.

[16] *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* (hereafter MzUB), vol. 1. Die Urkunden bis zum Tode Erzbischof Adalberts I (1137), ed. M. Stimming (Mainz, 1932; 2nd ed., Darmstadt, 1972); vol. 2. Die Urkunden seit dem Tode Erzbischof Adalberts 1 (1137) bis zum Tode Erzbischof Konrads (1200), ed. Peter Acht (Darmstadt, 1968–71), p. 553.

[17] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 371, ll. 170–75.

[18] For a description and tabular compilation of these rules and rites, see Doerr, *Das Institut der Inclusen*, pp. 42–52.

Jutta was "buried like one dead to the world." The names that Guibert uses for the cloister fit well with this theme: *ergastulum, carcer, reclusionis sinum*, even *mausoleum*. Like the rules, he writes about a (small) window used for conversation with visitors during fixed hours (a fundamental point in the rules) and to supply life's necessities. He also reports that a wall of solid stones prevented any access to the cloister (*non lignis <sed> cementatis solide lapidibus omni aditu obturato*).[19] This is well beyond the requirements of the rules, which for the most part only say that the door should be locked—sometimes with two keys, one of which was stored in the cloister—and fixed with a seal.[20]

Lest we think that a particularly strict form of immurement was adopted at Disibodenberg, we discover from Guibert himself that the cloister cannot be imagined as strictly or hermetically enclosed. Through the call of her holiness, Jutta spread her fervor not only to the pupils enclosed with her, but also to many young men and women living in the surrounding area. She even drew some "bodily toward her presence."[21] Noble men and women streamed to her, offering their daughters for a cloistered life. In addition, they offered (for their daughters' sustenance) vineyards, estates, and fiefs. Jutta presented these offerings "to the abbot and senior brothers," and with their advice and permission she accepted the noble daughters (as well as the gifts offered with them) and led them into the expanded "mausoleum," to instruct them in regular discipline. As a result, there grew out of the tomb (*sepulchrum*) a *quasi monasterium*, but in such a way, Guibert asserts, that the seclusion of the tomb did not fade amid the bustle of the cloister (*monasterii frequentia*).[22]

Guibert, accordingly, maintains to the end his particular vocabulary for describing the cloister. At Jutta's death, he has her conducted by a large number of people (abbots, nobles, men, and women alike) from her "dungeon" to her burial place in the brothers' chapter hall.[23] Guibert does not say who had chosen the burial place—according to her *Vita*, Jutta had desired a place where she could be trodden upon by the feet of passers-by.[24] In the chapter hall, on the other hand, Jutta would be removed from all

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[19] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 373, ll. 225–30.

[20] Grimlaicus, *Regula Solitariorum*, 15, PL 103:593–94; Doerr, *Das Institut der Inclusen*, pp. 51–52.

[21] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 374, ll. 256–57: "adolescentulas multas, non solum, ut premissum est, inflammauit, sed quasdam etiam corporaliter ad presentiam eius attraxit."

[22] Ibid., p. 374, ll. 256–68.

[23] Ibid., p. 374, ll. 269–78.

[24] *Vita Juttae*, 8.19, p. 185.

visitors, even—assuming the enclosure was strictly observed—her own sisters, whose presence at the burial is mentioned neither in the *Vita* nor in Guibert's letter. Guibert records only that the sick were refused access to the tomb in order to preserve the peace of the monks. He mentions this in passing, in order to explain that Jutta was "forced" to demonstrate her sanctity not through healing the sick, but through the pleasant scent that rose from her tomb during the Saturday foot washing. Full of (holy) fear, the brothers were no longer willing to walk over her grave and so transferred her to a more dignified tomb in front of the altar of the lady chapel, consecrated in 1146 according to the *Annales S. Disibodi*.[25] The expense of the translation cannot have been great—if we believe Guibert, who only mentions the presence of local priests.[26] Concerning Jutta's broader fate, her veneration, the miracles at her tomb, etc., we have no information—not even in the *Annals of Disibodenberg*, which only mention Jutta at her death and say nothing about the female convent. It appears, then, that the monks did not make the (usual) attempt to profit financially from the presence of a saint by promoting pilgrimage to the tomb.[27]

With Jutta dead and buried, Guibert is able to return to his actual theme, the life of Hildegard: after the death of the *magistra*, no one of greater merit or holiness was to be found in Jutta's *scola*. The term "*Schar*" (flock) is not an adequate translation, since the prologue to the Rule of Benedict defines a monastery as a school for the service of the Lord (*dominici scola servicii*). According to Guibert, the sisters elected Hildegard unanimously as the successor to Jutta on the—quite interesting—grounds that they were certain of her *discretio* and *temperantia*. Guibert thus emphasizes the central virtue of the Benedictine abbot, deeply cherished by Hildegard, but avoids the term "abbess." As the ideal of humility requires, Hildegard resisted the election with all her power but was compelled by the command of the abbot and the urging of her sisters to assume the office

[25] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 374–75, ll. 279–96; *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, p. 26, three years after the dedication of the new monastery and of the principal altar, and the translation of the relics of St Disibod.

[26] Ibid., 38, p. 75, ll. 293–97. The *Annales* do not mention the *translatio Juttae*, only the consecration of the chapel by the archbishop of Mainz—*Kal Novembris*—the day of enclosure in 1112.

[27] In contrast to the intentions of Abbot Kuno (died in 1155), who: "decreuit notam facere generationi uenturae uitam domnae Juttae monachae," *Vita Juttae*, prologue, 1.4, p. 174.

of "prioress" (which, according to the Benedictine rule, the abbot should award independently, that is, without an election).[28]

In the subsequent text, Guibert underlines the virtues mentioned during the "election." These correspond exactly to Hildegard's monastic ideals as they appear to us in her letters, her autobiographical sayings, and her commentary on the Benedictine rule (see below): Hildegard knew that the safest way is the middle way, and in her fight against vice she did neither too much nor too little, an exemplary monastic leader in her *discretio* and *modestia*. When she had to punish, she did so "filled with great love, motherly sweet affection."[29] With those who rebelled against monastic order, she acted patiently, not expelling them from the monastery, but following a complex process of discernment until God would reveal to her what should be done. She dealt thus, as Guibert emphasizes, not only with her small company at Disibodenberg, but also with the great number "here in Bingen"[30]—a discrete indication of the disciplinary problems which Hildegard, as she herself admitted, had to face at Rupertsberg;[31] the phrase "here in Bingen" also indicates Guibert's location when he wrote the *Vita*—and the phrase is left unchanged in Guibert's revision of the *Vita* a decade later.

Guibert does not follow this point, as one might expect, with the move from Disibodenberg to Rupertsberg, but rather proceeds, in chronological order (*ut priora repetam*), to the first recording of Hildegard's visions with the *Scivias*, several years after Jutta's death. In this, he addresses the significance of Hildegard's illness, as well as the role of the "sober, pure and learned monk, who encouraged her to record [her visions], inspected [the record] and brought it to stylistic perfection."[32] This characterization fits well with his own self-understanding as Hildegard's secretary; Hildegard herself, however, praises Guibert's modest predecessor Volmar for not having interfered in an attempt to improve her text.[33]

Hildegard was now doubly legitimized—through the election of her sisters and her appointment as "prioress," and as a prophet. All the more, then, does Guibert emphasize her "humble" obedience in the face of "the advice and authority of her superior"; he praises her for this specific monastic

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[28] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 375, ll. 297–304: "ad disciplinam super eas exercendam eligitur . . . abbatis precepto et sodalium suarum instantia officium prioratus subire compellitur."

[29] *V. Hild.*, 2.4, p. 26.

[30] *Epistolae*, I, 38, pp. 375–76, ll. 309–53.

[31] *V. Hild.*, 2.4–5, pp. 25–30; 2.12, pp. 36–38.

[32] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 377, ll. 401–05.

[33] *V. Hild.*, 2.1, pp. 20–21; see the *Protestificatio* in Hildegard's *Scivias*.

virtue three times in quick succession,[34] just as the *Vita* reaches the eve of Hildegard's great conflict with the abbot and convent over her plan to move to Rupertsberg. Guibert offers nothing more about the resettlement, even though 30 years after his departure from Rupertsberg he boasts in a letter that, in his composition of the *Vita*, he had reached the relocation from the *inclusio* at Disibodenberg to the *habitatio* at Rupertsberg.[35] Moreover, he did not expand the *Vita* at the time that he inserted it, still unfinished, into a letter to his friend Bovo.[36] Perhaps it was not mere chance that the *Vita* breaks off at this point; in this way Hildegard's image as an exemplary Benedictine can remain unclouded.

In a similar fashion, Guibert describes Jutta's growth from pious child to exemplary nun and teacher of female Benedictines as a smooth and simple development. This would be more significant if Guibert had actually been familiar with the *Vita Juttae*, written some decades before, which reveals what a painful path Jutta traveled at Disibodenberg, and how far her way of life departed from the Benedictine moderation celebrated by Guibert and Hildegard. It is clear that Jutta herself had sought other, more independent forms of religious life after she, as a girl of marriageable age (every indication suggests that she was charming, pretty, and frequently courted), had chosen a celibate life against the will of her family (*sanctae conversationis propositum*; the translation "nun" is, as often, too precise).[37] Hildegard, in contrast, was consecrated to God when she was only a child. Guibert emphasizes the religious aspect of this consecration (she was offered to God as a tithe, i.e. as the family's tenth child),[38] but from Hildegard herself we know that she was sickly and conspicuous for her visions from the very beginning. As a child, Jutta enjoyed a thorough education: first at home under her mother, and later in Holy Scripture.[39] In contrast, Hildegard and her biographers always stress her limited education (which, of course, underscores her gift of visions and her status as a prophet called by God). Guibert mentions, in a vaguely commonplace manner, that Jutta, who was frequently courted on account of her beauty and her father's wealth, "manfully" defended her virginity against her father's marriage plans and from the beginning strove for a life in the

[34] *Epistolae*, I, 38, pp. 378–79, ll. 429–30, 439–40, 443–46.
[35] Ibid., 42, p. 394; cf. *V. Hild.*, pp. 39–58.
[36] *V. Hild.*, p. 36.
[37] *Vita Juttae*, 2.6, p. 175; Staab, "Aus Kindheit und Lehrzeit Hildegards," p. 70.
[38] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 372, ll. 189–90, is the only source for this information.
[39] *Vita Juttae*, 2.4–5, p. 175.

cloister.[40] From the older *Vita Juttae*, however, we discover that Jutta's father had already died by the time she was three years old, that she had convinced the archbishop of Mainz to clothe her in the religious habit against the will of all her relatives, and that for three years—again by her own will (or more precisely, led by God, as the *Vita* says explicitly)—she placed herself as a "student" in the charge of Uda of Göllheim, a widow consecrated to God.[41]

Jutta, then, consciously chose a life outside the cloister, a form of religious life known since ancient times. This life consisted particularly of fasting, vigils, and prayer, which were to have a lasting effect on Jutta. She made good progress in virtue but was constantly burning to go on pilgrimage, *peregrinationem adire*. We should not understand this simply as religious travel, pilgrimage in the customary sense; we must think also of *peregrinatio* in the sense of the ascetic homelessness of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks, or of the bands of itinerant preachers in Jutta's own time.[42] Jutta's mother was against a pilgrimage, and her constant vigilance prevented any attempt by Jutta to run away. After her mother's death, Jutta believed that her path lay free to abandon her home and country for the Lord (this, again, supports the notion that hers was meant to be a lifelong *peregrinatio*). Now, however, it was her brother Meinhard who prevented her, with the help of Bishop Otto of Bamberg, who was also their relative. "On his advice and at the request of her brother," in the face of massive pressure, she chose Disibodenberg as her place of residence and was "enclosed" with two companions by Abbot Burchard on November 1, 1112, at 20 years of age. On the same day she made her monastic profession, which, with the help of the Holy Spirit, she followed with her whole heart.[43] What the *Vita* does not mention is that her brother spent considerable resources for his sister's safekeeping—an entire village, including the church and related incomes—*ut includeretur*.[44] He did not, therefore, allow her the free religious life enjoyed by her teacher Uda,

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[40] *Epistolae*, I, 38, pp. 370–71, ll. 139–45, 147–58.

[41] *Vita Juttae*, 3.2–3, pp. 175–76.

[42] Andreas Albert, *Untersuchungen zum Begriff peregrinatio bzw. peregrinus in der benediktinischen Tradition des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*. Regula Benedicti Studia. Supplementa 18 (St Ottilien, 1992); Josef Semmler, "Peregrinatio und stabilitas im frühmittelalterlichen Mönchtum," in *Pilgerreisen in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, eds. Barbara Haupt and Wilhelm G. Busse, Studia Humaniora 41 (Düsseldorf, 2006), pp. 43–65; Robert N. Swanson, ed., *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, Brill's Companion to the Christian Tradition 5 (Leiden, 2006).

[43] *Vita Juttae*, 3.7–10, p. 176.

[44] MzUB, 553.

nor did he grant her a monastery of her own, although 12 years later he became the cofounder of the monastery at Sponheim.[45] Her mother, in fact, may already have had the establishment of a monastery in mind.[46]

Guibert emphasizes how strictly the young women were enclosed and says nothing about the form of their religious life. He does, however, mention Jutta's work outside the cloister and its effects. The *Vita Juttae* stresses her "monastic life," which far exceeded Benedictine demands in asceticism and prayer. The *Vita* vividly describes that Jutta mortified her body with a hair shirt and iron chain, all the while showing a generous heart to those sick in body or soul; that, in addition to the regular duties of the monastic office, she recited the entire Psalter daily, sometimes two or three times, often standing or kneeling, barefoot even in the cold of winter—to the point that she became very ill. In addition to this excessive prayer, she undertook hard manual labor in the tradition of ancient monasticism, so that she would not eat her bread idly.[47] In these actions, Jutta stands squarely in a tradition that dates back to the beginnings of monasticism in the desert, a tradition that was reemphasized in her own time by both monastic reformers and canons regular. The older tradition was embraced against the waning Cluniac influence, not only with the aim of eliminating idleness and granting rest from prayer (as in many rules for cloistered religious), but also explicitly so that the religious would earn their own livelihood. This becomes particularly clear in the life of Paulina of Paulinzella, whose ascetic life as a hermit was very similar to Jutta's,[48] and with the women of Montreuil, who, following the model of the Cistercians, cleared and cultivated their land with their own hands.[49]

Jutta's *Vita* dedicates much space to her conversation with those who came to her for advice—although the author professes that it exceeds his ability to describe how highly her counsel in spiritual and worldly mat-

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[45] Ibid., 522.

[46] Ibid., 553 mentions that a church had been granted as a gift and made available for such purposes.

[47] *Vita Juttae*, 4.5.4–8, pp. 177–79.

[48] *Vita Paulinae auctore Sigebotonis*, ed. Julius Reinhard Dieterich, MGH SS 30–2 (Hannover, 1934), pp. 909–38; esp. cc. 20–22, pp. 920–21.

[49] Herman of Tournai, *De miraculis S. Maria Laudunesis*, ed. Roger Wilmans, MGH SS 12 (Hannover, 1856), pp. 658–59. On the importance of manual labor, see Dietrich Kurze, "Die Bedeutung der Arbeit im zisterziensischen Denken," in *Die Zisterzienser, Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Eine Ausstellung des Landschaftverbandes Rheinland-Pfalz, 3. Juli bis 28. September 1980*, eds. Kaspar Elm, Peter Joerissen, and Hermann Josef Roth (Bonn, 1980), pp. 179–202; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996).

ters was respected by all (not only by women) at Disibodenberg. Visitors of every rank from the surrounding area sought her counsel and revered her like a heavenly oracle for the wisdom that was granted to her by God and that proved itself to all through her great power of discernment (*discretione maxima*).[50] Contrary to Guibert's suggestions, Jutta did not seek to shut herself off in solitude; rather, in her words, prayers, and deeds, she took care of the needs and requests of many, demonstrating herself to be a clever judge of character and becoming renowned throughout the region. When we read that people sent her letters and messengers, and that she was actively concerned for her good reputation and the far-reaching effect of her work,[51] she appears to be fully exercising the role in which Hildegard would become famous a few years later;[52] although Hildegard, at Rupertsberg, had better opportunities to receive guests (of which, Guibert says, there was never a lack).[53]

Such activity was also possible from a monastery—even the rules for cloistered women provide for regular conversation at the window and, indeed, warn that such intercourse can become all too lively.[54] The Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167), in his book on the life of recluses that he wrote for his sister, drew a very negative portrait of "the recluses of today." Among these, he wrote, no fault was lacking—from women spending the day chatting at the window to visitors coming in the night (with the corresponding implications)—a dark foil, as it were, against which the detailed rules for a virtuous life in the monastery shone all the brighter.[55] In this, the warning against conversation, and indeed any contact with the outside world, played a large role. Aelred explicitly warns against noble visitors, particularly abbots. He recommends a facial veil and advises cloistered women to avoid all young men; they should neither communicate through messengers nor send or receive letters or presents.[56] Both Jutta and Hildegard were clearly involved in all of these activities. To combat such possible actions, Aelred, ever the Cistercian, recommends a healthy variety of prayer, spiritual reading, and physical labor, the last more to fend off idleness (the root of all vice) than to earn a proper livelihood, but also in order to provide variation and rest from prayer, which should not

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50 *Vita Juttae*, 5.1–3, p. 178.
51 Ibid., 5.9–12, p. 179.
52 *V. Hild.*, 2.4, pp. 25–27.
53 *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 369, l. 72.
54 See Grimlaicus, *Regula Solitariorum*, p. 16.
55 Aelred of Rievaulx, *La Vie de Recluse*, ed. C. Dumont, SC 76 (Paris, 1961), pp. 44–48.
56 Ibid., pp. 56–60.

be overly prolonged, lest one be overcome by weariness and boredom.[57] Aelred sings the praises of regular fasting (without fasting, chastity would be at risk), but he also offers detailed instructions for a healthy diet[58] and proper clothing (about which we hear nothing from Jutta). According to Aelred, clothing should be modest but sufficient, the veil black and simple (Hildegard thought otherwise). In general, in order to preserve poverty, a sister should have everything she needed, but less than she could afford.[59] So far as we can judge, Aelred, a Cistercian of the second generation, avoided Jutta's practices; his advice concerning asceticism resembles that of Hildegard far more than it reflects Jutta's preferences.

The *Vita Juttae* does not indicate to what extent Jutta was able to shape her sisters' religious practices. It only says that she gave without jealousy what she learned through visitors, the tradition of elders, and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Hildegard, on the other hand, always stressed her own lack of education and would only appeal to one source of wisdom, divine inspiration. Jutta promoted the independent development of her daughters and, far from forbidding any of them to do good works (possibly even outside the cloister), she encouraged them to engage in such acts.[60]

In all of Hildegard's writings, there is remarkably little mention of Jutta, with whom Hildegard lived for at least 24 years. Hildegard speaks of her detachedly as a noble woman to whom she was consigned *in disciplina*. She does not call her *magistra* or even mention her name. She acknowledges simply that the woman was graced by God "such that she allowed her body no rest in vigils, fasting, and other good works, until she brought a happy end to her earthly life, after which, God made her good service known through several wonderful signs."[61]

That is all. Admiration, veneration for a teacher, and identification with her spiritual vision all look different. Similarly, Hildegard did not compose an office or write a *vita* for Jutta. She clearly never considered translating the (potential) saint to her foundation, choosing instead the legendary Rupert as the convent's patron saint. Jutta was even missing from the necrology. We might be tempted to conclude that Hildegard's desire for a translation fell through due to resistance on the part of the monks; however, according to her own self-portrayal, Hildegard hardly ever passed

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[57] Ibid., pp. 64–66.
[58] Ibid., pp. 68–74.
[59] Ibid., pp. 76–78.
[60] *Vita Juttae*, 5.13, p. 179.
[61] *V. Hild.*, 2.2, pp. 23–24.

up a conflict with them. Additionally, the monks were clearly not very interested in Jutta; at least, they lost interest after Abbot Kuno, who had ordered the writing of her *Vita*, died on July 2, 1155.

Although the *Vita Juttae* does not specifically address the legal and practical relations between Jutta, her daughters, and the male convent, it is clear from some small details that—in everything of importance—Jutta was subordinate to the abbot, even if she was not in all cases subject to his commands, as the Benedictine rule demands.[62] As the fourth chapter of the *Vita* states, Jutta always wore a hair shirt and chain, except when, during a feast day or illness, she was forced to take them off by order of her superiors (*praecepto maiorum*). A conflict of obedience opens the rather short chapter on Jutta's "miracles." When the abbot ordered her, in accordance with the Benedictine rule,[63] to eat meat during a severe illness, Jutta refused—humbly enough, but contrary to the rule's precept of obedience.[64] Then the miracle: a waterfowl (an animal doubly allowed, as it were, by the rule) offered itself to her for food, inducing her to obey the renewed order of the abbot, but under the condition that she no longer be obliged to consume meat. Both in prayer and in mortification of the body, she went far beyond the rule, as she herself was well aware.[65]

Conversely, Jutta looked after the welfare of the monastery and its monks; we have already seen this in her many acts of "counsel."[66] During the long vacancy after the death of Abbot Adalhun (1128), she was greatly concerned about the monastery. After unceasing prayer, she discovered through a vision who the abbot's successors would be—one can surely infer from this that she had formed a judgement on the potential candidates.[67] From the *Vita* of Hildegard we discover that Jutta had spoken with a "monk well-known to her" about Hildegard's visions (*aperuit*: possibly negative given the connotation of confession and trust).[68] Hildegard herself took a monk into her confidence: she regarded him more highly than others and even considered him her *magister*, a title that she did not grant to Jutta. It was he who advised Hildegard to write down her visions secretly and he who examined them and informed the abbot:

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[62] See esp. Timothy Fry, ed., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, Minn., 1981), 5, pp. 186–89, and 68, pp. 290–91.

[63] *The Rule of St. Benedict*, 36, pp. 234–35, and 39, pp. 238–39.

[64] Ibid., esp. 5, pp. 186–89, and 73, pp. 294–97.

[65] *Vita Juttae*, 6.1–5, p. 180.

[66] Ibid., 5.2, p. 178.

[67] Ibid., 6.8–9, pp. 180–81.

[68] *V. Hild.*, 2.2. p. 24.

"from then on he worked with me with great care."[69] Such collaboration and secrecy, made possible only through personal trust, between a "cloistered woman," or nun, and a monk is not provided for by any monastic norms, and one cannot imagine that all this could have taken place under supervision at a window—even if the famous illustrations that were later assigned to the *Scivias* interpret the meetings in this sense.

In turn, we discover from the *Vita Juttae* that Abbot Kuno knew Jutta's secrets, as her esteemed father and beloved son in Christ.[70] He was elected abbot, at the earliest, six weeks before Jutta's death and was consecrated five days afterward, so their mutual esteem must have predated his election. Before her death, Jutta begged him not to have her buried in a holy place, but rather someplace where she could be trodden upon daily by the passers-by—an expression of humility and perhaps a final hint that her grave should be as accessible as she herself had been during her life.[71]

The detailed description of Jutta's death (which, of course, had been announced in advance by Jutta as a "saint") contradicts entirely the idea of an immured group of women.[72] Jutta consoles her students, by then ten in number, receives the Eucharist as she had during almost every day of her illness (from the hand of a priest, of course), and has the Lord's passion read to her, and the Psalter sung. When she feels that the hour of her death is near, she has the holy veil brought in, the symbol of her *vita religiosa*, places it on her head, and orders herself to be laid on a cloth sprinkled with ash (*super cilicium*).[73] Once everything is arranged, she has the brothers summoned. They sing the litany (of all the saints), and Jutta renders her soul to her creator, under the protection of the holy cross. She dies in a truly exemplary manner, just as a monk or nun is meant to die according to the *consuetudines* of the Cluniac-Hirsau reform[74]—thoroughly prepared, and surrounded and sustained by the prayers of her daughters and brothers. Only the washing of the corpse takes place hidden from the eyes of the sisters, performed only by her most trusted dis-

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69 Idem.

70 *Vita Juttae*, 10.1, p. 187.

71 Ibid., 8.19, p. 185.

72 Ibid., 8, pp. 182–85.

73 "super cilicium stratum cinere se imponi postulauit"; Staab's translation of the statements concerning the cloth is quite misleading, "Aus Kindheit und Lehrzeit Hildegards," pp. 76–77; see also *V. Hild.*, 2.9, p. 33.

74 See *Sancti Wilhelmi Constitutiones Hirsaugienses seu Gengenbacensis* II 64, PL 150:1134–37; for Cluny, *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii collectore Udalrico monacho benedictino*, PL 149:771–72. I thank Felix Heinzer for these references.

ciples; however, the author of the *Vita*, who was present at her death and burial, can bear witness to the light, white as snow, that shone forth from her body. The monks hold the death vigil, and a great crowd of people of various social ranks, vocations, and ages participate in the burial. Unlike Guibert's account, the *Vita* does not provide the location of the burial and mentions nothing about the miracles at her grave or her translation.

This suggests a relatively early date for the composition of the *Vita*, which was clearly not updated with a miracle collection. Nevertheless, through Jutta's life and through her *Vita*, the foundation was prepared for a flourishing cult. Still more astounding is the silence found in the monastery annals: although they record in detail every altar consecration after Jutta's death up to 1146 (but then break off abruptly at 1147 with a sentence about a great plague), they make no mention of Jutta's grave. They mention nothing of her successor and in no way indicate the development of the original cloister into a flourishing female convent, even though shortly after Jutta's death the women's house doubled in size. There is also no discussion of a move to new buildings. This, however, must have happened, unless the nuns stayed in the older buildings that had been used by the canons (while the monks used the new buildings constructed after 1108)[75] until Hildegard, with her various means (sickness, vision, high-ranking connections) and in spite of the monks' opposition, achieved her great act of liberation: the move to Bingen.[76]

The search for a new residence is also indicated by Gottfried, with his characteristic effort to promote harmony, in his *Vita* of Hildegard. After describing the flow of noble daughters coming to Hildegard seeking conversion, he writes, in words greatly resembling those of the *Vita Juttae*: "Since the one residence of the cloister could hardly hold everyone, and there was already discussion of relocating and expanding their lodgings,[77] a place was shown to her through the Holy Spirit, where the Nahe flows into the Rhine."[78] The *unum reclusionis habitaculum* would probably not have appeared too cramped, although the *Vita* records a bit later that

[75] See Eberhard J. Nikitsch, "Wo lebte die heilige Hildegard wirklich? Neue Überlegungen zum ehemaligen Standort der Frauenklause auf dem Disibodenberg," in *Angesicht*, pp. 147–56.

[76] *V. Hild.*, 2.5, p. 28.

[77] It is not stated who was discussing this, but we might suspect that it came from the male convent, i.e. the advice of the older brothers according to *The Rule of St. Benedict*, 3, pp. 178–81.

[78] *V. Hild.*, 1.5, p. 10.

Hildegard habitually wandered through all its corners and lodgings.[79] And just as in the *Vita Juttae*, the abbot visits Hildegard in bed, first to examine with his own hand whether she really is unable to move, then to tell her that he is permitting her to relocate with the sisters.[80]

But why does Guibert, writing 66 years after the "enclosure," emphasize so strongly the seclusion of Jutta and her daughters, and their conformity to the rule? One answer might be found in the developments that had taken place in the religious life since 1112. Towards the end of the 11th century, enthusiasm for a life according to the example of the primitive Christian community (Acts 4:32) had seized many men and women. Within the Hirsau reform, which also influenced Disibodenberg, many women openly desired to lead a religious life similar to that of monks—in double cloisters in accordance with the rule,[81] or as enclosed women in or near male monasteries, as in St Jacob in Mainz and Johannesberg in the Rheingau. In France, thousands of men and women joined the itinerant preacher Robert of Arbrissel, who established a monastery with both male and female convents for the core of his followers.[82] Similarly, in 1121, the former canon Norbert of Xanten, following a period of spiritual searching (*inter alia*, in Siegburg and with a hermit on the Moselle) that included a pilgrimage (undertaken while barefoot and poor) and itinerant preaching, established—under some pressure from the official Church—the abbey of Prémontré and converted "thousands of women" to a religious life in

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[79] Ibid., p. 12.

[80] Ibid., 1.5, p. 11; 1.6, p. 11.

[81] Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel, "Das Doppelkloster—eine verschwiegene Institution," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 101 (1990): 197–211; Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel, "Engelberg, Interlaken und andere autonome Doppelklöster im Südwesten des Reiches (11.–13. Jahrhundert). Zur Quellenproblematik und zur historiographischen Tradition," in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter*, eds. Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse, Berliner Historische Studien 18 (Berlin, 1992), pp. 115–33.

[82] See the following works by Jacques Dalarun: *L'impossible sainteté. La vie retrouvée de Robert d'Arbrissel (v. 1045–1116), fondateur de Fontevraud* (Paris, 1985); *Erotik und Enthaltsamkeit. Das Kloster des Robert von Arbrissel* (Frankfurt, 1987); *Robert d'Arbrissel et la vie religieuse dans l'Ouest de la France*. Actes du Colloque de Fontevraud, 13–16 décembre 2001, Disciplina monastica 1 (Turnhout, 2004); *Les deux vies de Robert d'Arbrissel, fondateur de Fontevraud. Légendes écrits et témoignages. The Two Lives of Robert of Arbrissel, Founder of Fontevraud. Legends, Writings, and Testimonies*, Disciplina monastica 4 (Turnhout, 2006); and *"Dieu changea de sexe, pour ainsi dire," La religion faite femme, XIe–XVe siècle*, Vita regularis Abhandlungen 37 (Berlin, 2008).

his (double) monasteries.[83] In the houses of canons regular in Springiersbach, Klosterrath, and Frankenthal, men and women (primarily women) strove together for a life in accordance with the evangelical counsels.

While such forms of life were never undisputed, they soon encountered active resistance. In 1139, the Second Lateran Council turned against women who desired to be regarded by the whole world as nuns, but who followed no acknowledged Rule. Thus, the council also took aim at forms of life such as those aspired to by Jutta. In addition, the council forbade "nuns" from performing choir prayer in a church with canons or monks, which is not known to have taken place at Disibodenberg, although the possibility cannot be excluded. It was also at this time that the Premonstratensians and canons regular from Klosterrath and Springiersbach (as well as the southern German reform Benedictines) began to remove the female convents from their joint monasteries.[84] Thus, the female convent at Andernach originated in the departure of the sisters from Springiersbach; their *magistra* Tenxwind, around 1150, sent Hildegard a series of questions so harsh in their criticism that someone decades later at Rupertsberg, in the course of revising the letter, twisted the statements into their exact opposite meaning.[85] For many years at Klosterrath, the monks had great difficulty in removing the women. After the brothers had finally placed them some 40 kilometers away in the Ahr valley, they soon accepted eight of the nuns back, in order to provide for typical female labor such as sewing, etc. The canons thought that they needed at least a small convent to provide these services, which, to the regret of the annalists, soon grew back into a large female community.[86]

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[83] Franz J. Felten, "Norbert von Xanten. Vom Wanderprediger zum Kirchenfürsten," in *Norbert von Xanten. Adliger, Ordensstifter, Kirchenfürst*, ed. Kaspar Elm (Köln, 1984), pp. 69–157.

[84] Franz J. Felten, "Frauenklöster und -stifte im Rheinland im 12. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frauen in der religiösen Bewegung des hohen Mittelalters," in *Reformidee und Reformpolitik im spätsalisch-frühstaufischen Reich*, pp. 189–300.

[85] Alfred Haverkamp, "Tenxwind von Andernach und Hildegard von Bingen. Zwei Weltanschauungen in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein*, eds. Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener, and Thomas Zotz (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 515–48; reprinted in *Alfred Haverkamp, Verfassung, Kultur, Lebensform. Beiträge zur italienischen, deutschen und jüdischen Geschichte im europäischen Mittelalter: dem Autor zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres*, eds. Friedhelm Burgard, Alfred Heit, and Michael Matheus (Mainz, 1997), pp. 321–60.

[86] *Annales Rodenses* [Klosterrath], ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 16 (Hannover, 1859), p. 714; cf. Felten, "Frauenklöster und -stifte im Rheinland," pp. 243–45.

Norm and practice in promoting the separation of convents for men and women were reinforced by exhortation. The *Speculum virginum* ("Mirror of Virgins"), which probably originated in the reform circle of the Rhineland in the 12th century, polemicized against *sanctimoniales* who erected their houses next to monasteries—precisely the situation at Disibodenberg—and offered as the central reason that which, since the time of the Church Fathers, had discouraged too great a proximity between men and women: the concern for chastity.[87] Only the "enclosing" of women could help—a strict active and passive enclosure, which in these decades almost became the symbol of a cloistered life in accordance with the rule, especially for the supposedly weaker sex.

This development from the enthusiasm for a *vita apostolica*, represented by men and women living in the same place yet still separate from each other (according to the chronicler of the reform monastery Petershausen at Constance),[88] to an emphasis on strict physical division increased in the time just before and after Jutta's death. It is thus no surprise that, much later, after this ideal had become well established, the written sources emphasize spatial separation even in writing about years past. Hence, Guibert, who was certainly in a position to know about Hildegard's and Jutta's conditions, even from his home monastery in Gembloux, describes Hildegard's cloister as an immured location in order to avert any suspicion, and represents Hildegard from the beginning as a true female Benedictine. He presents her teacher Jutta as conforming to this ideal as well, in that he smoothes over her difficult path at Disibodenberg, and causes her characteristic hardships to vanish into simple asceticism and prayer. According to this portrayal, the departure from Disibodenberg to Bingen would not have been a break, but rather a logical development.

If we did not have Jutta's *Vita*, which was first edited in 1992 by Franz Staab, we would not know the great extent to which Hildegard sought to distance herself from Jutta's ascetic ideals, first at Disibodenberg, but above all at her own monastery. Jutta's *Vita* underscores her sense of duty and obligation, in that it records her transmission of regulations that were to be strictly observed. However, if Kuno, Jutta's trusted friend, commissioned her *Vita* in order to bind the sisters to her ideal,[89] a different

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[87] *Speculum virginum*, ed. Jutta Seyfarth, CCCM 5 (Turnhout, 1990), p. 70.

[88] *Chronik von Petershausen*, ed. Otto Feger, Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit 3 (Sigmaringen, 1956, 2nd ed., 1978), p. 24.

[89] *Vita Juttae*, Prol. 5, p. 178: "sua instituta strenue observans custodienda filiabus tradidit."

course began to emerge under Hildegard. According to Guibert, Hildegard was elected as Jutta's successor because her sisters recognized her moderation, her ideal of the middle way, which she was able to realize at Rupertsberg. Nevertheless, as we discover, Hildegard had already faced disciplinary problems at Disibodenberg,[90] problems that became worse at Rupertsberg, where "some of the noble daughters . . . rebelled against the unbearable pressure of the regular discipline."[91] This critique appears after Hildegard, according to her own words, had for a long time generously overlooked feasts of food and drink, carnal desires, worldly pleasures, and more (the classic catalogue).[92] Clearly the rapid growth of the community after the death of Jutta and the move to the Rupertsberg—where the well-situated convent, in spite of some departures, grew to 50 sisters[93]—had attracted not only those who were well suited to pursue a monastic life.

Given the customs well known from the letter of Tenxwind (*c.*1150), one might even suspect that Hildegard wanted to establish at Rupertsberg the freer religious life of the (secular) canonesses,[94] especially since she did not explicitly testify to the validity of the Benedictine rule until 1158. Indeed, her great confession of the Benedictine rule in her letter to Archbishop Heinrich was, as is clear, not inserted until the epistle was revised near the end of her life.[95] That said, Hildegard's biographers (who were, admittedly, all Benedictines), as well as her autobiographical writings and letters—especially the *Scivias* and her commentary on the rule—leave no doubt that Hildegard esteemed the Benedictine ideal of monasticism above all, if, admittedly, with a philanthropic interpretation: her style of leadership was shaped by kindness, gentleness, patience, and a lenient authority, which only seldom turned harsh, as when she confronted "lapsed nuns" or in her dealings with Richardis, her religious sister and close friend, whose move to Bassum was a cause of animosity on Hildegard's part even after Richardis's death.[96]

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[90] *V. Hild.*, 1.4, pp. 9–10.

[91] Ibid., 2.12, p. 37.

[92] *Epistolae*, II, 194, pp. 439–42.

[93] Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae*, 38, pp. 368–69, ll. 69–73.

[94] Ursula Vones-Liebenstein, "Hildegard von Bingen und der 'ordo canonicus,'" in *Angesicht*, pp. 213–40.

[95] MzUB 2, 231; *Epistolae*, I, 7, pp. 17–18.

[96] *V. Hild.*, 2.5, pp. 29–30; Franz J. Felten, "'Novi esse uolunt . . . deserentes bene contritam uiam . . .' Hildegard von Bingen und Reformbewegungen im religiösen Leben ihrer Zeit," in *Angesicht*, pp. 27–86.

We have only occasional hints about the nuns' daily life, even after the move to Bingen: for the magnificent worship and social exclusivity of the convent, we have Tenxwind's letter; regarding the comfort of the convent (its size, imposing and luxurious buildings with running water, and sufficient servants), we have Guibert's letter to Bovo.[97] Fasts, continuous prayer in difficult conditions, vigils, and enforced silence clearly played no role.[98] In her letters, especially to other religious, and in her commentary on the Benedictine rule, Hildegard resolutely promotes the Benedictine ideal of the middle path between hardship and restraint.[99] Compassion, gentleness, patience, and moderation dominate her advice; she praises *discretio* as the mother of all virtues and resolutely warns against too much abstinence and asceticism (one thinks of Jutta!); proper moderation is to be maintained everywhere.[100]

Hildegard clearly distances herself (as did the conservative Benedictines of her time) from the ideal of manual labor, which, in the outbreak of the new religious movements, had recovered its former high standing even among women.[101] Physical labor, according to Hildegard, should be the task of another kind of people (*genus hominum*), the *conversi*, and the peasants.[102] Guibert himself only mentions more delicate forms of work, such as copying books and weaving stoles—efforts to satisfy the precept of the Apostle and to avert idleness. In addition, the nuns at Rupertsberg had a large number of servants;[103] in fact, according to Guibert, someone had given Jutta and Hildegard a girl of low social rank to be their servant when they entered the cloister at Disibodenberg.[104]

Similarly, and in contrast to the *Vita Juttae*, poverty and care for the poor were not an important theme for Hildegard and her biographers; Hildegard, in fact, aggressively defended her convent's wealth and exclu-

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[97] *Epistolae*, I, 38, pp. 368–69, ll. 70–74.

[98] The exceptions to be found in *V. Hild.*, 3.21–26, pp. 57–69, confirm the rule.

[99] Angela Carlevaris, "Hildegard von Bingen. Urbild einer Benediktinerin?" in *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten*, pp. 87–108; Giles Constable, "Hildegard's Explanation on the Rule of Benedict," in *Umfeld*, pp. 163–87; Felten, "'Novi esse uolunt," pp. 64–76.

[100] For further examples, see Felten, "'Novi esse uolunt," pp. 55–59, with notes on problems of evaluation.

[101] *Epistolae*, II, 198, pp. 450–51. See Kurze, "Die Bedeutung der Arbeit."

[102] Ibid., I, 84, pp. 188–89.

[103] Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae*, 38, pp. 368–69, ll. 55–74.

[104] *Epistolae*, I, 38, p. 372, l. 207: "alia Christi famula sibi equiuoca inferioris generis, nepte tamen sua, que eis ministraret." *Vita Juttae*, 3.10, p. 176, does not make this social distinction: "cum duabus sororibus ipsa tertia Kalendis Nouembris est inclusa."

sivity against the criticism of Tenxwind.[105] There is clearly no ground in the sources for the (modern) notion that Eibingen, formerly a convent of Augustinian canons that was taken over by Hildegard in 1165, could have been planned for girls of lower social rank. In the early modern period, when the convent of Rupertsberg had found a new home in Eibingen after the destruction of the original monastery, a *fundatio* claimed that Hildegard's convent had been founded for girls with unquestionable noble descent in both their father's and their mother's lineages, and that the sisters from common families had been given to the nobles as servants.[106] Since the late Middle Ages, such foundation stories have circulated in many places in order to establish that a convent's exclusivity was truly based on the will of the founder,[107] but hardly ever with such well-documented support as is found in Hildegard's letter to Tenxwind. Nevertheless, in the 18th century, the nuns of Eibingen thought they could still make amends and rewrote Hildegard into a second Countess of Sponheim.[108]

We do not know what Jutta, the actual Countess of Sponheim, thought on this point, and so we cannot say whether Hildegard turned against the *instituta* of her teacher in this case as well. When Hildegard aggressively asserts against Tenxwind, the daughter of a *ministerialis*, her conviction that one should not bring people of diverse social rank together in one convent, just as one does not enclose different types of animals in one stable, she is not only formulating her personal opinion (although remarks of this type were very rare at the time). When examined from a social-historical point of view, Hildegard is actively supporting the interests of the noble class to which she herself belonged: in the 12th century, the freemen (*liberi*), as they programmatically called themselves, consistently distinguished themselves from the rising class of *ministeriales*, who were "unfree," even if the upstarts were often economically and politically more powerful—one need only think of the Bolander or the so-called

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[105] *Epistolae*, I, 52, pp. 125–27.

[106] Ms. *Fundatio*, cited in Franz J. Felten, "Zum Problem der sozialen Zusammensetzung von alten Benediktinerklöstern und Konventen der neuen religiösen Bewegung," in *Umfeld*, p. 228, n. 185.

[107] Franz J. Felten, "Wie adelig waren Kanonissenstifte (und andere weibliche Konvente) im (frühen und hohen) Mittelalter?" in *Studien zum Kanonissenstift*, ed. Irene Crusius, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 167, Studien zur Germania Sacra 24 (Göttingen, 2001), pp. 39–128; reprinted in: *Vita religiosa sanctimonialium. Norm und Praxis des weiblichen religiösen Lebens vom 6. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Christine Kleinjung, Studien und Texte zur Geistes- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters 4 (Korb am Neckar, 2011), pp. 93–163, esp. 104–17 resp. 143–153.

[108] Felten, "Zum Problem," in *Umfeld*, p. 228.

Rhine counts. In the context of the history of the *vita religiosa*, Hildegard places herself against the old monastic ideal of fraternal equality and the dominant trends of the reform movement of her younger days, when convents were defined by social openness, just as in questions concerning asceticism she advocated an entirely different position from that of the strict reformers.

It is clear that after the death of Jutta, who must be considered part of these reform circles, Hildegard saw the chance to emancipate herself in every respect from the overpowering influence of her teacher. Now she could offer full expression to her visionary gift and develop her own monastic ideals: quickly and with great success she moved with 18 or 20 nuns to Bingen. It is worth noting that the recording and legitimizing of her first great visionary work was followed by her physical separation from the mountain where she spent her youth as a nun, and by her institutional liberation from the male convent. This she accomplished by employing her own particular resources (sickness, vision), but also through hardship and determination, demonstrating both political skill and a willingness to compromise, as portrayed in her *Vita* and her own statements (although the two are not always in agreement).[109] Nowhere do we discover anything about the motive for this drastic step, which clearly provoked not only the opposition of her abbot and the monks, but also that of her nuns and their relatives.[110] For this flagrant act of disobedience against her abbot (*abbas meus*) and against *stabilitas*,[111] Hildegard appealed only to her vision, which had commanded her to leave the place in which she had first been offered to God and to go to the place which God had shown her. Hildegard herself emphasized the parallel with the wandering of the Israelites under Moses.[112]

Hildegard's portrayal of the conflict, the legal disputations (for the female convent was legally and economically a part of the Disibodenberg monastery), and the political circumstances (which she was able to navigate skillfully) is accomplished in high style. She says nothing about the permission and aid of the abbot and the monks (and the *conversi*),[113] but does reveal the political and economic supports she enjoyed. She also

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[109] See Felten, "Frauenklöster und -stifte im Rheinland," pp. 271–75.
[110] *V. Hild.*, 2.5, pp. 27–30.
[111] Cf. *The Rule of St. Benedict*, 58.17, pp. 268–69, and *passim*.
[112] *V. Hild.*, 2.5, pp. 28–29.
[113] Cf., however, ibid., 1.5, pp. 10–11.

completely conceals the geographic advantages of Bingen,[114] describing Rupertsberg as a "withered region lacking all comfort," in opposition to "the place in which nothing is lacking." She and her 20 noble nuns supposedly found "no place to live" at Rupertsberg. On the other hand, Gottfried—who as a monk of Disibodenberg and provost of Rupertsberg wanted to be fair to both sides and clearly attempted to portray the release of the nuns as a harmonious occasion—reports that the abbot and monks supported the nuns to the best of their ability. Specifically he tells the story of the *conversus* Arnold, who was dissuaded by a miracle from his opposition to the move, only to become all the more eager to assist in constructing a residential building for the nuns.[115]

In Hildegard's often dramatic depiction of her activities and suffering, the significance that she attributed to the "emancipation" (the term used in the *Vita*)[116] from Disibodenberg becomes clear; she herself describes it as a "release," a "liberation," comparing herself to Joseph in Egypt. It is true that she had to do without the financial means supplied by the sisters at Disibodenberg, receiving a quite meager sum in compensation; nevertheless, she quickly found, as the archiepiscopal property record shows,[117] not only the space for the monastic buildings, provided by the cathedral chapter and the count of Hildesheim, but also a solid economic ground for her foundation, and in 1158 she finally obtained acknowledgement of her independence, guaranteed by the archbishop in a solemn privilege. Her final victory appears in the right of her sisters to elect their "spiritual mother" in a free vote according to the conditions of the Benedictine rule (ch. 64). The monastic bond to Disibodenberg was preserved, but only in the sense of the obligations of the abbot: he had to send the nuns suitable priests upon request and leave them there as long as the sisters wished. He was bound to consecrate nuns and assist in every way, whenever the sisters asked. However, the archbishop himself undertook the protection of Hildegard's convent without a reeve and granted them, a monastery of nuns, all of the rights in spiritual matters that other monasteries under his protection enjoyed.[118] Hildegard herself stressed the financial importance

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[114] These have been emphasized by Alfred Haverkamp, "Hildegard von Disibodenberg-Bingen. Von der Peripherie zum Zentrum," in *Umfeld*, pp. 15–69.

[115] *V. Hild.*, 1.5, pp. 10–11.

[116] Ibid., 2.6, p. 31.

[117] MzUB 2, 230.

[118] Ibid., 231. For the specific "freedom" of monasteries in the diocese of Mainz, see Ludwig Falck, "Die Mainzer Erzbischöfe und ihre Klöster in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," (Diss., Marburg, 1952); Ludwig Falck, "Klosterfreiheit und Klosterschutz. Die

of the right of burial. She secured the legal protection of her foundation a few years later through an imperial privilege[119]—untroubled by the fact that Barbarossa was excommunicate due to the schism, and that the Cistercians from nearby Eberbach had fled from the emperor into exile.

Around the end of her life, Hildegard became involved in a harsh conflict with the cathedral chapter over burial rights. Fearless as ever, Hildegard advocated for the legal position of her monastery.[120] Similarly, she was able, with the help of the curia, to gain a decision favoring her in a quarrel with Disibodenberg over the appointment of a provost, and thus to prepare for her conclusive liberation from Disibodenberg, even though she never succeeded in her lifetime (d. 1179) in attaining the right from the archbishop for her convent to elect the provost.[121] Even in 1208, it was the abbot of Disibodenberg who settled a quarrel over the provost (on the instructions of the bishop); however, in 1224, Archbishop Siegfried placed the nuns under the monastery of Sponheim.[122]

From modest beginnings on a mountain between the Glan and the Nahe there grew a flourishing monastery with full legal rights, which provided the best conditions for the far-reaching work and mission of its visionary founder, and which was no longer affected by the disturbances that troubled Disibodenberg in the 13th century. As an episcopal foundation, Rupertsberg—unlike its mother monastery, which had come under the domination of the Palatine in the late Middle Ages—escaped dissolution during the Reformation and, after its destruction by the Swedes in 1632, continued to live on in Eibingen until its closing during the secularization at the beginning of the 19th century. Rebuilt not far from its old location in the early 20th century, the Abbey of St Hildegard in Eibingen continues in the spirit of its medieval traditions and contributes to their philological and historical study.

Klosterpolitik der Mainzer Erzbischöfe von Adalbert I. bis Heinrich I. (1100–1153)," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 8 (1956): 21–75.

[119] MzUB 2, 274; MGH Diplomata Friedrich, D 398.

[120] *Epistolae*, I, 23, pp. 61–66, and 24, pp. 66–68, regarding which, see Wolfgang Felix Schmitt, "Charisma gegen Recht? Der Konflikt der Hildegard von Bingen mit dem Mainzer Domkapitel 1178/79 in kirchenrechtlicher Perspektive," *Binger Geschichtsblätter* 20 (1998): 124–59.

[121] MzUB 2, 505, from 1187.

[122] Wolfgang Seibrich, "Geschichte des Klosters Disibodenberg," in *Hildegard von Bingen 1179–1979. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen*, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 33 (Mainz, 1979), pp. 55–75, following Trithemius.

ST DISIBOD AND THE HISTORY OF THE DISIBODENBERG UP TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 12TH CENTURY*

Franz J. Felten

Generally, until now, it has been considered that Heinrich Büttner presented in 1934 the authoritative examination of the sources—currently held in Mainz—concerning St Disibod and the early history of the Disibodenberg. According to Büttner, "no sources written prior to the 12th century about the history of the Disibodenberg have come down to us."[1] It is only with Archbishop Ruthard's charter of 1108,[2] confirming the house's transformation into a Benedictine monastery, that the sparse documentary history of the Disibodenberg begins. This meager textual transmission includes a contract of exchange with Mariengraden in 1112,[3] return of property by Archbishop Adalbert,[4] arbitration between Disibodenberg and St Martin in Bingen in 1124,[5] confirmation of a donation of a tithe in 1127,[6] and, of primary importance, Archbishop Adalbert's great confirmation charter from 1128.[7] These represented for Büttner, and thus remain to the present, the "supporting foundational pillars for the history of the monastery up to the beginning of the 12th century; upon those one must construct the monastery's early history and within them one must fashion

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* Translated by Rebecca L. Garber. Originally published in German as "Disibod und die Geschichte des Disibodenberges bis zum Beginn des 12. Jhs.," in *Als Hildegard noch nicht in Bingen war. Der Disibodenberg—Archäologie und Geschichte*, eds. Falko Daim and Antje Kluge-Pinsker (Regensburg/Mainz, 2009), pp. 25–33. The editors and Brill gratefully acknowledge the permission of Falko Daim and Antje Kluge-Pinsker, as well as that of Verlag Schnell und Steiner, to publish an English translation in this volume. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the editors of this volume and to the translator of this essay.

[1] Heinrich Büttner, "Studien zur Geschichte von Disibodenberg. Frühgeschichte und Rechtslage des Klosters bis ins 12. Jahrhundert, Baugeschichte und Patrozinien," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 52 (1934), 1–46, see p. 3. (Hereafter SMBO.)

[2] *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* (hereafter MzUB), 436. No. 428 from 1107 is a forgery. Vol. 1. Die Urkunden bis zum Tode Erzbischof Adalberts I (1137), ed. M. Stimming (Mainz, 1932; 2nd ed., Darmstadt, 1972); vol. 2. Die Urkunden seit dem Tode Erzbischof Adalberts 1 (1137) bis zum Tode Erzbischof Konrads (1200), ed. Peter Acht (Darmstadt, 1968–1971).

[3] MzUB, 455.

[4] Ibid., 471.

[5] Ibid., 523.

[6] Ibid., 542.

[7] Ibid., 533.

every representation of its fate."[8] The oldest textual witness for Disibod, the *martyrologium* composed by Hrabanus Maurus around 840/850, states only briefly that the death of the holy confessor is celebrated on September 8 in the diocese of Mainz (*in suburbanis M. ecclesiae*).[9] Disibod does not even appear in the popular martyrologies of the early Middle Ages, i.e., those attributed to the Venerable Bede, Florus of Lyon, and Usuardus of St Germain des Prés. He appears by name beginning in the 11th century in the documents from Trier, which Büttner mentions but fails to incorporate. Büttner considers the annals recorded from the mid-12th century at Disibodenberg to be "essentially completely reliable for their own times";[10] however, for the earlier period they prove to be admittedly unproductive.

For details on this period there remains then only the *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi*, which Hildegard of Bingen dictated in 1170 based on visions she had received, and which was (therefore) "hitherto constantly discarded as unusable for historical research."[11] Even the archbishop's charters and the monastic annals contain nothing about the saint and his deeds, with the exception of the following few facts: his grave was still venerated even after the monastery that he had founded had fallen into decay; Archbishop Willigis (975–1011) had renewed the buildings as a foundation for (12) canons; and Archbishop Ruthard (1095–1109) had replaced the canons with monks from St Jacob in Mainz and had made donations to the foundation. Willigis's motives, the number of canons, and the benefits granted by the archbishops, from Willigis to Ruthard, first appear in the Adalbert charter of 1128.

Hildegard claims the greatest level of historical truth for her *vita*: it was communicated to her, like her visions, by the Holy Spirit in truthful revelation.[12] Critical historians recognized rather early that the high proportion of biblical references and hagiographic commonplaces contained in the *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi* require no visions.[13] In any case,

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[8] Büttner, SMBO, p. 3: "tragenden Grundpfeiler, auf denen das Gebäude einer jeden Frühgeschichte des Klosters und jede Darstellung seiner Schicksale bis in den Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts hinein errichtet werden muß."

[9] Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, PL 110:1167.

[10] Büttner, SMBO, p. 4: "für die eigene Zeit im wesentlichen völlig zuverlässig."

[11] Ibid., p. 4: "bisher stets als unbrauchbar für die historische Forschung verworfen wurde."

[12] Hildegard of Bingen, *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi*, Acta Sanctorum (AA.SS.), Juli II (Paris, 1897), pp. 581–97, at p. 597; PL 197:1095–1116 (Paris, 1855), at 1116; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 154–55.

[13] *V. Disib.*, AA.SS., 583; PL 197:1095–97; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 86–91.

Hildegard's *vita* of St Disibod has been read and copied since the Middle Ages and has been embellished multiple times (even the *Acta Sanctorum* refers to childish and gossipy additions), such that a tangled mass of ostensible information—and its associated interpretations—has surrounded the historical Disibod until the present.

Büttner sought "to cut away the entwined wreath of legend to reveal as purely as possible the historical kernel underneath."[14] He saw in the *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi* both the "expression" of the imaginings of a learned woman from the 12th century and also (as in the concise narrative comments on the charters) a "recording of the living folk narratives about the old history of the Disibodenberg,"[15] which he further describes as a "refined form of the folk tradition, in which the most luxuriant tendrils of the poetic folk legend were plucked."[16] This may have some basis in the fact that Hildegard objected vehemently to foolish legends and rationales about the fate of the monastery, such as those that circulated among the common people.[17]

In more recent times, the "symbolic content of the *vita*,"[18] as well as its historical value,[19] has received emphasis. Haverkamp, for example, describes the *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi* as presenting "differentiating historical views," "history that appears realistic," and a "deeply-anchored historical consciousness."[20]

Hildegard's disclosures will therefore be discussed in more detail here, if for no other reason than to enable a comparison between her text and the history as it is designated by later authors—from Trithemius (around 1500) to Franz Xaver Remling (1836) and Heinrich Büttner (1934) and up to the present (at least up to Fell [1999])—and also to distinguish between sources and interpretations.

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[14] Büttner, SMBO, p. 7, "den geschichtlichen Kern aus dem um ihn gerankten Sagenkranz möglichst rein herauszuschälen."

[15] Ibid., p. 10, "Fixierung der im Volke lebenden Erzählungen von der alten Geschichte Disibodenbergs."

[16] Ibid., p. 11, "geläuterte Form der Volkstradition, bei der die üppigsten Ranken der dichtenden Volkslegende abgeschnitten waren."

[17] *V. Disib.*, AA.SS., p. 597; PL 197:1114–15; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 56–57.

[18] Alfred Haverkamp, "Hildegard von Disibodenberg-Bingen. Von der Peripherie zum Zentrum," in *Umfeld*, p. 19.

[19] Eberhard J. Nikitsch, *Kloster Disibodenberg. Religiosität, Kunst und Kultur im mittleren Naheland* (Regensburg, 1998), p. 15, "erstaunlich präzise" [astonishingly precise].

[20] Haverkamp, "Hildegard von Disibodenberg-Bingen," in *Umfeld*, pp. 15–69, at pp. 29–30, "differenzierende historische Ansichten," "realistisch erscheinende Geschichte," "tief verankertes historisches Bewusstsein."

Hildegard's Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi

Hildegard was the first to label Disibod an Irishman; even today he is included within the Hiberno-Scottish mission (begun in 590). This son of noble parents (a given) was a pious child (canonically correct) who was elevated to the priesthood at age 30, and a few years later, due to his virtues, he was elevated to the bishopric (against his will, naturally). Due to the strictness of his beliefs, he had to contend with great problems, heresy being not least among them, such that after 10 years he set off on constant pilgrimage, a goal for which he had long striven and a characteristic way of life for Irish monks.[21] In "Alemannia," where Disibod met with a mixed response among the "hard" people, he heard about Benedict, who had recently died (the only indication of a chronological integration). In the lifestyle instituted by the latter, the former recognized the ideal that he had long sought. Disibod searched for a few men of "perfect religiosity," but in vain. After copious tears and prayers, in which Disibod appears poor and fearful (as Hildegard so often did), and following a vision, he moved to the left side of the Rhine, where a people supposedly lived who were indeed "hard," yet already devoted to the ecclesiastical religion. After 10 years of pilgrimage with his three Irish companions, he settled down on the rugged, thickly forested, and lonely yet lovely Disibodenberg, which was perfectly suited for a hermitage. His companions built their huts a short distance from his: this was not to be a monastery but a settlement of hermits. Since the local inhabitants considered them to be saints sent from God, it is apparent that the locals were Christians, who supported Disibod and his fellows. Their reputation of caring for the poor and performing wonders became broadly disseminated, such that people from the entire region (*per totam provinciam*) flocked to see them, building a small chapel on the eastern slope and establishing gardens, pastures, and huts for these saints on the western slope. People even came from distant provinces and entrusted their souls and goods to the hermits, enough so that finally "princes and the higher nobility and the wealthy, together with the religious people of the region" (the bishop of Mainz is not mentioned) presented the mountain and its surrounding lands to the saints and their successors.[22]

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[21] *V. Disib.*, AA.SS., p. 589; PL 197:1100–02; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 98–99.

[22] *V. Disib.*, "Principes ceterique nobiles et divites, una cum reliquo populo easdem terras inhabitantes," AA.SS., p. 591; PL 197:1103C. *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 110–11.

In order to establish a monastery according to the Benedictine Rule, Disibod attracted men from far away who were highly familiar with this Rule (they were, indeed, Benedict's students) to the mountain. They settled on the eastern side "so that they would not be disturbed by the people."[23] This establishment was, therefore, neither a mission nor a center for pastoral care. Disibod himself remained below as a hermit so that he could continue to offer visitors good advice; thus, he distinctly did *not* become a member of the community, which lived according to the Benedictine Rule and the *consuetudines* dictated by Disibod himself. He supervised them as their "spiritual father and defender" without ever being called "abbot," nor did he wear their monk's robes. He pursued a more stringent ascetic life than did his "sons," who wanted no other "father and teacher." (These are all typical charismatic elements that were common in the religious movements during Hildegard's time.) Within 12 years, the reputation of the community, which had grown to 50 monks in the meantime, spread across "several provinces," so that many came from far away to seek advice and aid from them (exactly what, according to Hildegard, Disibod had sought to prevent). The *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi* repeatedly states that due to the monks' reputation, the farthest of those who could still be considered neighbors of the mountain offered their rental properties and wealth to the monks and constructed *villulae* (farmsteads or small villages) in the forest for the monks' use.

After 30 years on the mountain and prior to his death (predicted far in advance, not surprisingly), Disibod named a successor and organized his final resting place: not in the monastery, but rather in his modest chapel, where, following his death on July 8 (Hrabanus reports it was September 8) and his burial, at which the greatest number of people participated, Disibod worked numerous miracles (listed by Hildegard).[24]

In all, Hildegard offers a consistent, rather typical story of the foundation of a monastery in a remote yet already Christianized area. In contrast, she records in her *Vita sancti Ruperti ducis, confessoris Bingensis* that at the time of Charlemagne, pagans and Christians still resided next to one another.[25] Yet there is no statement in the *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi* (our only source) about missionary work, about the supervision of parish churches by the monks in the sense of parish pastoral care, or about

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[23] *V. Disib.*, "ne amodo a populo infestarentur," AA.SS., p. 592; PL 197:1104B. *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 112–13.

[24] *V. Disib.*, AA.SS., pp. 593–94; PL 197:1108; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 126–31.

[25] *V. Rup.*, PL 197:1083–94.

forming a staging point for the bishop of Mainz. The focus instead is on the improvement of lands—by the people—for the monks. Hildegard represents Rupert as a man who opened up vast tracts of his inherited land, which extended from his residence in the *civitas* (city) on the left bank of the Nahe estuary (that is, on the Rupertsberg) up to the river Selz, up the Nahe to the brooks Appelbach and Ellerbach (near Bad Kreuznach), and through the Soonwald forest up to the Heimbach. Rupert, according to Hildegard, constructed *villae* (country estates or villages) and churches in places that lacked them and granted them to his people.[26]

The bishops of Mainz only appear in the history of the Disibodenberg during its later phase of decay. The monks, like the people, grew accustomed to the miracles; wars raged in the area so that the princes of the region, along with those commoners who had not fled, quickly fortified the mountain. The Benedictines dispersed at the advice of princes, who promised to recall the holy men after the end of the fighting. A few especially zealous brothers settled down at the grave of the saint and awaited death with courage. After a few years the monks were indeed recalled, and they received all of their buildings and even additional lands, enough such that the monastery underwent a second flowering. Yet the miracles at the gravesite failed to rematerialize; therefore, the area nobles and wise visitors (not the monastic brethren) gained the consent and allowance from the bishop of Mainz to elevate the saint's bones. In the presence of Boniface and a great crowd of people, the bones were transferred to the monastery (the second temporal point of reference in the *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi*). From that time forward, both days were celebrated by the people; the Benedictines served God in peace, were beloved by the locals, and thus became wealthy. The thematic repetitions are quite obvious, as they are in the following text: a few years and kings later, savage battles raged once again in the area. Noble men and princes of the region (*majores natu cum Principibus ejusdem terrae*) turned to Charlemagne, claiming that it was inappropriate that monks, who were supposed to serve God in poverty, enjoyed wealth to a point of superfluity while they, in their need, did not have the means to serve the empire. Charlemagne rejected them. Some time later (again in serious battles against tyrants), cities on the Rhine itself were laid to waste (the destruction of Rupert's *civitas* is described in his *vita*). The princes again, this time in union with the archbishop of Mainz, presented the same argument before the then-reigning

[26] *V. Rup.*, PL 197:1088–89; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 64–67.

emperor (neither gentleman is named), and added that they had no idea how the brethren had gained access to their families' allodial lands. The emperor then ordered an examination of the means and documentation showing how such extensive properties had come into the Benedictines' possession. Targeted false information led to an unjust decision, allowing the accusers to gain access to the monastery's lands. Hildegard assigns the archbishop a leading role in this case (the very opposite of a patron). Bewildered, the plundered monks left their mountain, after which the invaders destroyed their buildings so that this time there would be no hope of a return. The conquerors spared only the saint's grave, where they actually set up a priest in order to guarantee Mass at the site and to lead the local commoners in prayer (*regere*—the first evidence of pastoral care). After many years, Count Liuthard donated the monies for the maintenance of three priests at the shrine.[27]

Shortly thereafter—and again without naming names—the narrative records the construction of the house of canons by Willigis and the introduction of the monastic life by Ruthard. The pious and modest Willigis settled 12 canons in the house in honor of the saint, and, out of misery for the disenfranchisement of the lands (which had made him, the current archbishop, great and wealthy), he returned some of the properties. It was not until the episcopal rule of Ruthard, a world-wise man who was inspired by the Holy Spirit, that the site was restored to its old eminence. Ruthard benevolently relocated the canons to another location and introduced Benedictines (from whom good things were expected due to their commendable life), and he equipped the new monastery according to his ability.[28]

At this point, the historical portion of the text ends. Nothing more is said about Adalbert, later archbishops, or any further events that occurred on the Disibodenberg. This means that nothing is written about Jutta, Hildegard, or the withdrawal of the women's monastery that the latter woman led. The *Vita Disibodi* ends with the assurance that this text alone proffers the true reasons for the fate of the Benedictines: the Lord rewarded and often punished (*saepius purgavit*) them according to their service, and he will continue to do so in the future (a warning to the monks contemporary with Hildegard, with whom she had numerous conflicts). Other rationalizations circulating among the populace to explain the declining

[27] *V. Disib.*, AA.SS., p. 596; PL 197:1114; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 150–51.
[28] *V. Disib.*, AA.SS., pp. 596–97; PL 197:1114; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 152–55.

fortunes of the brethren were repudiated as mere fables. As in the texts of her visions, Hildegard assured her readers at the end that "these words were brought forth by true Wisdom. . . . As I have seen and heard everything, so I have begun and completed the writing."[29]

It is notable *how* Hildegard described the early history, which was obviously also completely unknown to the inhabitants of the Disibodenberg, managing to "fill in" the years from the late 6th century to the 9th (even if not without commonplaces, repetitions, and occasional contradictions). The flowering of the monastery is ascribed to the qualities of the saint and his companions and to later monks, as recognized by the local populace, and not to patronage by kings or bishops. In contrast, the monastery's decline is attributed primarily to a laxity in religious fervor on the part of the brethren and the laity, and only afterwards to the warlike conflicts and encroachments by the wealthy on the monastery's lands. Normans and Hungarians are absent from the narrative; battles by "tyrants"—that is, internal conflicts—dominate the pages.

The accusations presented by the nobles about the wealth belonging to the monks invoked a conflict that had already lasted centuries: Charles Martel notoriously confiscated extensive properties belonging to churches and monasteries (to the detriment of his soul, at least according to a massive propaganda campaign waged by the Church beginning in the 9th century). The extant documents also demonstrate that the intended restitution offered by Martel's sons, and to which they had agreed only at Boniface's insistence, was delayed due to "necessities of the kingdom." Charlemagne dismantled the monopoly on power held by the bishop of Trier. In 811, as part of a more general move in support of the monasteries, he posed critical questions to the abbots about the accrual of their properties. Discussions and actual conflicts between clerical and worldly powers about the lands belonging to the Church and the monasteries intensified beginning in the 840s, reaching a high point in the accusations made around 900. The number of monasteries that suffered great losses, or indeed perished, during the 9th and 10th centuries is quite large. Those affected could easily consider the battles between Louis the Pious and his sons to be "battles between tyrants." The same could be said about the conflicts between Lothar I and his brothers, which took place prior

[29] *V. Disib.*, "Verba itaque haec vera sapientia protulit: ego autem paupercula, in lecto aegritudinis meae jacendo, et scribere coepi et finivi." AA.SS., p. 597; PL 197:1116. *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 156–57.

to 843 and particularly affected the areas on the western side of the Rhine. The great feuds that occurred around the year 900 and in the following decades caused even more suffering, in particular to the churches and monasteries.

It is in this sense that one can consider Hildegard's presentation of these themes as "the author's deeply-anchored, historical consciousness," a "sense for multiple determining factors, courses of events, and motifs."[30]

Those whom Hildegard did not mention are just as notable: aside from Boniface, Charlemagne, and Liuthard, Hildegard does not name any of the other active participants by name, neither the "evil" bishop of Mainz, who despoiled the Disibodenberg, nor the "good" archbishops, who established canons and monks, respectively, on the mountain. Hildegard's reticence with names (on the mountain, Hatto II was considered to be one of the guilty parties)[31] should not be understood as clemency. She pilloried the archbishop as the primary guilty party and has Willigis lament that he has become wealthy and powerful due to the unjust alienation of the monastery's lands. Yet it should also be noted that Hildegard, a staunch Benedictine, does not imply that Willigis would/should have settled Benedictines on the site, nor does she criticize the canons in any way, even though she naturally welcomes Ruthard's selection of brothers from her own order to succeed them.[32]

The Charters from 1108 and 1128: From Archbishops Ruthard and Adalbert

In contrast to the *Vita Disibodi*, Ruthard's 1108 charter,[33] which was initially transmitted in a *Vidimus* written in 1268 (and thus after the takeover of the monastery by the Cistercians), begins with the reform of the lax life that the canons had practiced and which Ruthard, inspired by the veneration of the saint and the *fama* of the monastic life that had once ruled here, replaced again with the stricter and better life of monks. This conforms to classic monastic rhetoric of reform that was current at that time. Yet even Ruthard did not claim that Willigis had actually *wanted* to settle monks on the mountain, even if a note of regret found in the wording

[30] Haverkamp, "Hildegard von Disibodenberg-Bingen," in *Umfeld*, pp. 29–30. "ein tief verankertes historisches Bewusstsein der Autorin," "Sinn für vielfältige Rahmenbedingungen, Ereignisabläufe und Handlungsmotive."

[31] *Annales Sancti Disibodi* a. 975, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 7:6.

[32] *V. Disib.*, AA.SS., p. 597; PL 197:1114; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 152–53.

[33] MzUB, 436.

conveys the sense that he failed to restore religious life on the mountain to its previous level when he settled canons in the monastery. The number of canons is not mentioned in this text. In spite of his condemnation of the canons, Ruthard emphasizes that he compensated them with an appropriate church and other buildings. This was to forestall any future "just" quarrels (*iusta querela, . . . benigne collocavit*), and corresponds with Hildegard's description of him, as she called him world-wise. Ruthard's charter circumvents the possibility, as it appears in the annals and in Hildegard's text, that the archbishop of Mainz participated in the demise of the monastery. Instead, the charter employs vague language about God's wrath, fires, and the dispersal of lands, all of which would have led to devastation in the locale by the time of Willigis.

Gaps are notable in the charter's historical narrative as well as in the subsequent section: there is no word, for example, about the material goods granted or the tasks assigned to the canons by Willigis. Only Ruthard's donations to the new monastery, now populated by monks instead of canons, are listed, consisting primarily of tithes in Sobernheim, but also of *villae*, *mansi*, and vineyards along the Rhine, in the area around Mainz, in Hessen, and in Thüringen. No mention is made about contributions by other archbishops. Neither is the appointment of an abbot mentioned—an unusual omission; the stewardship or the pastoral rights of the canons, like those of the monks, are passed over.

Adalbert's 1128 charter[34] discusses all of these points, and therefore is also more problematic, even though it has been considered up to the present day to be a reliable source for the early history of the Disibodenberg. The text begins with praise for the archbishops who followed Willigis in office and who, with their donations (and those of other faithful Christians), enriched the saint's church. Adalbert confirms these grants (there is no mention of any made by him) and augments the statement of rightful ownership (in an unconventional configuration) with narrative sections and legal provisions. It is here that we first learn that Willigis was unable to find pious monks willing to take on the site; therefore, he had to "settle" for the 12 canons. According to the introduction, "These are the lands, which the Hero benevolently granted to Saint Disibod,"[35] the first of these gifts was the church in Sobernheim, consecrated by Willigis himself, which was donated to the monastery along with two hides of lands and

[34] Ibid., 553.
[35] "Hero" is Adalbert's idiosyncratic designation for Willigis.

the entire tithe. In contrast, Ruthard's 1108 charter mentions only a "Salic tithe," which he, Ruthard, had granted to the monks after he had gained it from the canons of St Victor in exchange. The 1128 charter also includes the donation of a tithe obtained through exchange, but only in the 15th and final place in the list of Ruthard's donations. In 1130, Archbishop Adalbert had to mediate a fierce conflict between St Victor and the Disibodenberg involving this same tithe. The reconciliation is documented twice: the cartulary from the Disibodenberg covering the 14th/15th century includes a brief version as a copy of one of Adalbert's charters;[36] a longer version of the original, sealed decision is extant from St Victor.[37] The previous history appears only in the longer version, according to which the canons accused Ruthard of transferring the tithe, which had been theirs for a long time, to the monks against their will and without compensation. The monks responded that they held the tithe justly because the archbishop had obtained it for them in exchange. Willigis is not mentioned at all. In the 1130 decision, Adalbert prescribed (*ordinavimus*) a compromise settlement without referring to either of the charters from 1108 and 1128, which the monks obviously did not produce, even though the provisions included therein were more advantageous to them. Apparently, in addition to the manse in Algesheim, listed as compensation for the canons, the archbishop added a farm near the Stockburgertor, which the monks had received from a citizen of Mainz, and a monetary payment owed to the bishop resulting from this donation. These were evidently supposed to replace the benefits from Hilbersheim, confirmed in 1128. Nothing of the sort appears in the cartulary version.

At this point, instead of continuing with the list of donations, the 1128 charter links the grant in Sobernheim to a detailed provision of the easements to the church, which was equipped with a sanctuary and two choirs, and to the Mary chapel. This is accomplished in such a clumsy manner that the easements can also be read as applying to the Sobernheim church. The church on the Disibodenberg must be intended, at least, as it had developed in the first half of the 12th century; the Mary chapel was consecrated in 1146. This interruption is followed in the list of donations by two churches in Ostertal (near Sankt Wendel), with Salic land and 20 manses. This then provokes the question: Did Willigis really intend to establish a strategic outpost, as the foundation of the Disibodenberg

[36] MzUB, 562.
[37] Ibid., 563.

monastery has consistently been interpreted? Would this obviously old complex of possessions in the Ostertal, some 20 miles farther to the west,[38] not indeed have offered a better opportunity to strengthen the position of Mainz against Trier and Metz in this border region?

The image of the archbishop as a strategic colonizer and organizer of pastoral care has been deduced from the following section of the charter: Because the tithe on fallow lands was available to him (a wording that specifically evokes a corresponding emphasis of the archiepiscopal rights in the Adalbert charters),[39] he ordered that three churches be founded "in that same forested area" (the referent for *eodem saltu* is missing), that is, the churches in Bollenbach, Hundsbach, and Meckenbach. He then granted to St Disibod all of the cultivated land, as well as the land which was not yet under cultivation but was associated with these churches. Also, because he held no possessions in the Soonwald, he obtained a hide of land from a cleric, where he then founded a church (Getzbach), awarded the entire tithe (again made up of cultivated land and land awaiting settlers) to this church, and then donated the entire setup to St Disibod. Moreover, he finally (*postmodum autem*) obtained a small parcel, made up of a hide from St Alban, in order to build a church in Seesbach because, due to the size of the region, not all of the inhabitants of the villages that had been constructed there could attend Mass in Getzbach. This Seesbach church was assigned to the authority of the church in Getzbach; more exactly (because it was "useful" as a legal title over the centuries under changing circumstances), the Seesbach church was assigned to the cleric (not the canon), who was serving as the priest in Getzbach.[40] Do these actions reflect strategic planning or the aggregation of a longer phase of development? Before coming to sweeping conclusions about pastoral responsibilities, one should consider that the possession of churches and tithes was not necessarily linked to pastoral activities, but rather initially served as a source of revenue.

This series of grants is followed, with little transition (*eodem etiam in tempore*), by the donation of Salian land (strikingly exactly determined) and two hides of land in Boos that were occupied by farmers, donated by

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[38] Karl Heinemeyer, *Das Erzbistum Mainz in römischer und fränkischer Zeit 1: Die Anfänge der Diözese Mainz*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen 34 (Marburg, 1979), pp. 103–20.

[39] See, for example, MzUB, 540 and 558.

[40] Ibid., 553: "basilicam in ea construxit et dedicavit, nomen ei Semendisbach imponens ipsamque cum suis appendiciis Gehinkirche ecclesie subdens, ab eodem clerico, qui illam rexerit, hanc semper regendam constituit."

dux Kuno of Böckelheim and his wife Jutta in memory of their daughter Uda, who had already died. If one believes that it is possible to read the existence of a female *inclusa* at a house of canons into the words "*iam ididem [cor. in ibidem] defuncte*,"[41] it would have been singularly rare in this period. The women's religious movement, for which the concept of the anchoress was a cornerstone, began a century after this grant.

Willigis's final two regulations are appended in a similarly clumsy fashion (*idem eciam*). In order to ensure the rights of the monks on the Disibodenberg, he prescribes to them the entire possession within the borders circumscribed by the old ditches. In addition (*item*), he set up a reeve over this locality, which may indeed have been possible; however, this occurrence does not fit into the overall historical development of the reeve's bailiwick. In any case, it appears anachronistic that Willigis already defines *in detail* the limited benefits that the reeve could claim. This is more typical for later periods[42] and (in its severity) appears primarily in forgeries from the 12th century.[43]

In Adalbert's charter, these passages interrupt the list (announced at the beginning) of the donations by the archbishops to the monastery, which then continues, documenting those offered by Liutpold (1051–1059), Siegfried (1060–1084), and Ruthard. Liutpold's grants are not conspicuous in any way: in addition to four hides of land, he grants half of the offerings received in Mainz on Maundy Thursday. Siegfried's donation makes clear that the canons were not responsible for pastoral care in "their" churches, as he divides an (undefined) payment (*solucio*) that was due to him from the churches that belonged to the Disibodenberg into three parts: two for the canons and one for the parish priest (*sacerdotes parrochianos*).

It is only when he arrived at the list of Ruthard's gifts that the compiler of the Adalbert charter reaches firm ground: he could now simply copy the list of grants from the 1108 charter, even if he did alter the order at points and practically doubled the number of donations. A possible explanation

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[41] Wolfgang Seibrich, "Geschichte des Klosters Disibodenberg," in *Hildegard von Bingen 1179–1979. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen*, ed. Anton P. Brück, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 33 (Trier, 1979), p. 58; Hans Fell, "Disibodenberg," in *Die Männer- und Frauenklöster der Benediktiner in Rheinland-Pfalz und Saarland*, eds. Regina Elisabeth Schwerdtfeger and Friedhelm Jürgensmeier, Germania Benedictina 9 (St Ottilien, 1999), p. 130.

[42] For example, MzUB, 327, 533, 538.

[43] Theo Kölzer, *Studien zu den Urkundenfälschungen des Klosters St. Maximin vor Trier (10.-12. Jh.)*. Vorträge und Forschungen des Konstanzer Arbeitskreises für mittelalterliche Geschichte Sonderband 36 (Sigmaringen, 1989).

for the latter fact would be that Ruthard authorized the grants (which are missing from his own charter) in the few months remaining between May 8, 1108, and his death on May 2, 1109, without documenting these actions in a charter. Another, more likely scenario, as the legal transactions were described in great detail in 1128, is that the corresponding documents have been lost. However, it is also highly possible, as the possessions listed are also sometimes missing from the Papal confirmation in 1148,[44] that these were entered later in the "copy." It was also to the monastery's advantage that the limitations applied to the grant of a tithe from the episcopal court at Albansberg (and which Adalbert had determined the previous year in his original, extant confirmation)[45] are missing from the copied document. This lacuna also appears in the Ruthard charter, which was likewise initially copied in the later Middle Ages, and thus also subject to later emendations.

A few well-detailed donations by laymen as well as two purchases conclude the 1128 confirmation of possessions. Of particular note is the grant, rather complex in its grammar as well as its content, offered by Count Megenhard of Sponheim to celebrate the entry of his sister Jutta into religious life at the Disibodenberg. While the transfer of the *villa* Nunkirchen[46] with all of its appurtenances is beyond doubt, the accompanying statements about the freedom of the church are not. It is also notable that the confirmation of a grant in Bingen ignores the division of goods, which Archbishop Adalbert had already decreed in 1124, when the canons of St Martin had laid claim to them.[47]

The charter of 1128 accords with Ruthard's document in that it determines that the canons were duly compensated. In addition, the later charter informs that Adalbert honored Abbot Burkhard (not the monastery) for his service to St Disibod, such that Adalbert designated Burkhard to be the saint's *cooperator* in sermons, baptisms, burials, and confessions; indeed, Burkhard was the saint's representative (*omnino omnimodam vicem suam suppleret*). Based on this most unusually worded sentence (which has no corresponding reference in the Ruthard charter), Fell argues for a "pastoral monastery" that had supposedly "fallen away from the usual scope of a Benedictine abbey."[48] In fact, Adalbert granted pastoral rights to several

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44 MzUB 2, 108.
45 MzUB, 542.
46 A deserted village near Bockenau, not Kaiserslautern; compare with MzUB 2, 108.
47 MzUB, 523.
48 Fell, "Disibodenberg," p. 129.

monasteries in his diocese that did *not* belong to him, although admittedly such grants were carefully delimited in the details regarding baptismal and burial rights.[49]

In addition, or so claims the charter of 1128, Ruthard granted the monks the right to elect their own abbot and to present the (unanimously) elected man to the bishop for investiture. This statement can scarcely be accepted without difficulty.

It also remains conspicuous that the Adalbert charter, in spite of its exorbitant length, does not contain a conclusive, summarizing definition of the legal position of the abbey (election of abbot, reeve's bailiwick, *libertas Moguntina*). Instead, this concluding formula directly follows the final purchase: "We wish to confirm, upon the salvation of our souls, the donations from so many fathers [bishops] and others of the faithful" (increasing the donations [in quantity or quality] is not mentioned as a possibility). In all, this charter, which appears in form and content to be quite heterogeneous, has so many idiosyncrasies in the present version that its authenticity must be called into question. According to Theo Kölzer, an acknowledged authority on diplomatics, to whom I presented my doubts, the charter plays at being "a *pancarta*, which summarizes numerous episcopal and private charters and connects them, at least in part, through narrative elements, which advance the purpose of the charter in a heavy-handed manner." He conjectured that a charter from 1128 formed the basis for this subsequently fabricated *pancarta*, which the monastery preferred in comparison to charters that were transmitted more clearly. Because this charter is transmitted only in the cartulary from the 14th/15th centuries, all possibilities for retroactive reworking remain possible, as is true for other cartulary copies of charters (e.g., MzUB 428 and 436). To what extent the Adalbert charter correctly represented the actual reality or altered it in favor of the monks (indeed, it is possible that this reflects rights achieved only at a later date) can only be clarified by meticulous analysis of ownership records. Yet even this may not reveal anything further, as this charter provides the initial, if not the only, "proof" for many details.

A glance at the confirmation of properties issued by Pope Eugene III in 1148 already shows that some possessions and regulations were not cited, or are listed in a lesser quantity than those recorded in the Adalbert

[49] For example, the 1127 charter for Remigiusberg (MzUB, 544); also the rights of Sponheim over the parish priest, who was subordinate to the abbot (MzUB, 522).

charter.[50] In particular, the "parish rights" are missing, which were first literally "added" to the copy of the late medieval cartulary.[51] Thus, one can no longer consider that the charter from 1128 offers a firm foundation on which to base the early history and legal position of the Disibodenberg monastery, and it must be judged more carefully than even Büttner and those who followed him have done.

Overall, we have to be far more conscious as to which sources and which interpretations form the foundations for our apparently secure knowledge about earlier periods. We only know about Disibod's origins and activities from Hildegard. It is only modern interpretation based on a general perception of missionary activities that creates a center of missionary work and pastoral care (about which Semmler has already expressed doubts) from Hildegard's presentation of a remote colony of hermits and a later monastery. Similar interpretations have been applied to the creation of Willigis's foundation of canons. The sources cite only his piety and veneration of Disibod as motivating factors. Strategic considerations are a modern attribution, based certainly on the role that the Disibodenberg played in the battles that occurred in the 13th century. If Willigis had intended to create an "outpost" for the archdiocese of Mainz, then the valley of the Oster River, with its borders touching Metz and Trier, would have offered a better strategic position than the much closer Disibodenberg. That is, even if one ought to describe the early medieval diocesan and pastoral organizations with this type of military terminology, Willigis's most famous foundations, St Stefan and St Victor outside the gates of Mainz, cannot be explained in this fashion, nor do they need to be. Their initial task, like that of all canonical houses, was to celebrate the liturgical hours in prayer. Based on the episcopal foundations, the evidence is rather thin to support an argument for a systematic-strategic organization of pastoral care in the bishopric. The far-ranging assignment of churches and responsibilities for clearing forested areas, which better fit a later time period, are attested only by a questionable passage from the Adalbert charter. In general, the ownership of churches and tithes is not necessarily connected with pastoral care, which is particularly evident with regard to women's

[50] This confirmation is transmitted as a *Vidimus* in 1268 and copied in the cartulary (MzUB 2, 108 [partial edition], Heinrich Beyer, Leopold Eltester, and Adam Goertz, eds., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der jetzt die Preussischen Regierungsbezirke Coblenz und Trier bildenden mittelrheinischen Territorien*, vols. 1–3 (1860–1874, reprinted in Aalen, 1974), p. 552.

[51] Büttner, SMBO, pp. 28–29.

religious houses.[52] Indeed, Siegfried regulated a division of incomes between the priests and the canons on the Disibodenberg. The reeve's bailiwick and the regulations for maintaining buildings, both ascribed to Willigis, appear anachronistic. And if he did indeed mark out a smaller legal site on the mountain, the question must remain unanswered as to whether this definition corresponded with the boundaries that were first attributed to the monastery in a charter issued by Archbishop Heinrich in 1147,[53] as this document is likewise only extant in a late medieval copy from Disibodenberg/Veldenz. The pastoral rights, which Ruthard supposedly transferred, are unusually broadly expressed, and are directed at the person of Abbot Burkhard.

[52] MzUB, 528.
[53] MzUB 2, 96.

HILDEGARD OF BINGEN AND THE HIRSAU REFORM IN GERMANY 1080–1180

Constant J. Mews

Hildegard of Bingen rarely displays any debts to existing movements of religious renewal in Germany. At the beginning of *Scivias*, she describes how she experienced a moment of illumination in the 43rd year of her life, but gives no indication that the monastery where she had been raised as a child was itself the product of any movement in religious reform.[1] In reflections preserved by her biographer, she recalls simply that she was offered up to religious life by her parents in the 8th year of her life (namely, 1105), and that she spoke frequently about visionary experiences until her 15th year (1112), when she became fearful of what others might say. She implies that she was born into an age of spiritual decline, when Christian fervor had grown slack, and that her early life had lacked a clear sense of direction and commitment.[2] Yet we cannot understand the particular direction of her life—both in its early phase at Disibodenberg, and then after she started to assert her spiritual identity in 1141—without reference to a movement of religious renewal that had been evolving within German monasticism since the 11th century, in particular that associated with the abbey of Hirsau.

Because Hildegard was technically Benedictine in her observance (not a term she would have known), it is often assumed that she belonged to an "unreformed" monasticism, more traditional in character than that of the Cistercian Order, which based itself around strict observance of the Rule of Benedict. This assumption—that 12th-century monasticism can itself be divided into two primary groupings, one traditional and Benedictine, the other innovative and Cistercian—is itself shaped by the polemical literature generated by the Cistercian reform, in particular by its preeminent publicist, Bernard of Clairvaux. His *Apologia* for the Cistercian way of life, addressed to William of St Thierry in the mid-1120s, has had great influence in creating the impression that prior to the establishment of Cîteaux and the Cistercian way of life in 1098, monasticism—at

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[1] *Scivias*, "Protestificatio," p. 3.
[2] *V. Hild.*, 2.2, p. 23.

least as practiced at Cluny and its daughter houses—had become lax and worldly in its observance, no longer committed to its founding principles. Bernard's rhetoric—coupled with the loss of so many written records from the monasteries in the Rhineland and southwestern Germany influenced by Hirsau—has tended to nurture the misleading impression that France (above all Clairvaux) was a seedbed of monastic renewal in that period, and that only gradually did Cistercian monasticism expand into Germany.[3] This creates an artificial perception of Hildegard of Bingen as a lone voice, emanating from an unreformed monasticism untouched by earlier currents of religious renewal. The reality was very different.

At Disibodenberg, Hildegard was profoundly shaped by memories of the cause of religious renewal, in particular as inspired by the abbey of Hirsau, in Swabia. In Germany, monastic reform was never shaped by explicit adherence to the authority of any single abbey, like that of Cluny or Cîteaux. Instead, monasteries that came under the influence of an abbey became part of a brotherhood, defined through sharing common liturgical practices and agreeing to pray for each other. Hirsau was particularly influential in creating such a sense of a brotherhood.[4] As Phyllis Jestice has argued, one of the distinguishing features of reforming monks in 11th-century Germany was their engagement in the public life of the Church, often incurring much hostility from both clerical and monastic figures who were loyal to imperial authority.[5] Hildegard's debt to Hirsau was fully evident to one of her greatest admirers in the late 15th century, Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516), abbot of Sponheim. Trithemius integrated the story of Hildegard into his *Chronicon Hirsaugiense*, a richly

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[3] Constance Berman has argued that the notion of a Cistercian *ordo* was only invented after the death of St Bernard; see *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000). Yet there is strong evidence for a sense of a common *ordo* already in existence at 1125, the time during which a crisis confronted Morimond. Morimond was founded on the same day as Clairvaux, but with a view toward expanding the Order into Germany. See Michael Casey, "Bernard and the Crisis at Morimond. Did the Order Exist in 1124?" *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38 (2003): 119–75.

[4] Joachim Wollasch, "Spuren Hirsauer Verbrüderungen," in *Hirsau. St. Peter und Paul 1091–1991*, pt. 2, *Geschichte, Lebens- und Verfassungsformen eines Reformklosters*, ed. Klaus Schreiner (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 173–93. The classic study is still that of Hermann Jakobs, *Die Hirsauer, ihre Ausbreitung und Rechtsstellung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites* (Cologne, 1961).

[5] Phyllis G. Jestice, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution of the Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 249–65.

informed narrative that relies on sources subsequently lost in the wars of religion.[6] It is a perspective that deserves respect.

Disibodenberg and Monastic Renewal in the Late 11th Century

Trithemius identified Disibodenberg as one of many abbeys founded or reformed under the influence of Hirsau.[7] While the specific documentary evidence that he used to make this claim has been lost, it is supported by the fact that the chronicle of Disibodenberg singles out a connection between William of Hirsau and Anselm of Bec, as part of a broader account of St Anselm.[8] Under the year 1094, the chronicle praises the example of the abbey of Bec, in Normandy, and the achievement of St Anselm (1033–1109) in "instructing his monks in the paths of righteousness by means of the word of doctrine and the carrying out of most sacred works." The chronicler reported that the liberal arts were studied at Bec as part of the monastic life: "among the varied studies of the students, some applied themselves to the reading of secular books, some to the reading of sacred books."[9] He also reported a number of stories that he had heard about Bec, including one about a monk who saw a vision of an Ethiopian who collected crumbs of food that other monks had carelessly allowed to fall from their table, and who would show them at the day of Judgement: "Accordingly, we wish that all equally, brothers and lords, rich and poor of both sexes be warned so that they may lay these things to heart, and not misuse the gifts of the Lord, but rather fill the laps of the needy from those things which seem to you less abundant, from the crumbs I say, yes even from fragments."[10] This story about visionary perception of monastic carelessness provides a valuable insight into the climate of renewal in which

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[6] Trithemius provided a full account of Hildegard in his *Chronicon Hirsaugiense*, under the year 1150, published in *Opera historica*, ed. Marquard Freher, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1601; reprinted Frankfurt, 1966), pp. 233–35.

[7] Disibodenberg is identified in a list of houses reformed by Hirsau, along with St Alban's and St James, Mainz, initially listed by Trithemius in his *Annalium Hirsaugiensium* (1690), reprinted in PL 150:926A, and discussed in Wollasch, "Spuren Hirsauer Verbrüderungen," pp. 187–88. Kassius Hallinger associated St Disibod with Gorze without supplying firm evidence, *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensform und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, Studia Anselmiana 22–23 (Rome, 1950), p. 241, and Jakobs hinted at "fraternal" associations with Hirsau, without going into detail, in *Die Hirsauer*, p. 76.

[8] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 17 (Hannover, 1861), pp. 4–30; Anna Silvas, trans., *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 7–27.

[9] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, MGH SS 17:14; Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, p. 9.

[10] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, MGH SS 17:15; Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, p. 11.

Hildegard was raised. The chronicler then identifies various writings of St Anselm, including a letter he sent to William of Hirsau (1026–1091).[11] While the letter to William was not important in itself, the fact that the chronicler singled it out from St Anselm's correspondence discloses a conscious effort to link two key monastic figures of the 11th century, both of whom were given particular esteem at Disibodenberg.

William had been raised since boyhood at the ancient abbey of St Emmeram, in Regensburg, in a form of monasticism that extended back to the time of Charlemagne.[12] Elected abbot of Hirsau in 1069, William became increasingly involved in the cause of moving monasticism away from excessive secular control and in supporting the cause of Gregory VII (1073–1085) against Henry IV, whom Gregory excommunicated in 1075. As Jestice observes, William was much more outspoken than the abbots of Cluny in his attitude towards reform.[13] In a letter sent to William around 1080, introducing the customs of Cluny, Ulrich of Zell praised him for having avoided the practice, widespread in Germany, of families sending children who were deformed, deaf, blind, or leprous into monastic life, not for the sake of God but to free themselves of responsibility for them. Recognizing that William himself had been brought up as a child oblate, Ulrich optimistically considered that William had eliminated a practice that he considered to be destructive to monasticism: "I am certain that you have completely extirpated that root from its foundation, from which alone all monasteries have been destroyed of those that have collapsed either in German or Romance speaking regions."[14] Ulrich's optimism was clearly exaggerated. Only two decades later, Hildegard's parents would follow a conventional path in offering their 10th child to religious life when she was just seven years old. Hildegard herself would continue to warn against this practice of child oblation, if it meant children were not making a free choice: "Let people who want to subject their children to that Pas-

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[11] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, MGH SS 17:12, referring to Anselm, Ep. 358, *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, 6 vols., vol. 5 (Edinburgh, 1946–1966), p. 299; Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, p. 12.

[12] See Haimo, *Vita Willihelmi abbatis Hirsaugiensis*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS 12:209–25.

[13] See Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, pp. 210–17, 251–52.

[14] Ulrich of Zell, *Epistola nuncupatoria, Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii*, PL 149:637B (Paris, 1853): "Ego autem certum sum illam te radicem funditus exstirpasse, ex qua sola praecipue omnia sunt monasteria destructa quae destructa sunt vel in Theutonica, vel in Romana lingua."

sion in humility of life not do it with imprudent and inconsiderate haste, but examine the matter with wise discretion and not force them to do so without their consent what the people themselves could not bear." If such a child was forcibly constrained in this way, "he will certainly run away, physically or mentally, unless God guards him by a miracle."[15] Hildegard would certainly have been aware that William of Hirsau had sought to abolish the practice of child oblation, condemned by the Cistercians and other new religious orders in the early 12th century. Yet these reforms were never fully implemented.

While William admired the discipline he believed was practiced at Cluny, as well as the monastery's detachment from secular authority, he never adopted its practice of bestowing vast power on its abbot, who had binding authority over all its dependencies.[16] Unlike Cluny, monasteries established or reformed by abbots sent out from Hirsau were not subordinated to an all-powerful abbot, but rather became part of an informal network held together by common values and core elements of a shared liturgical tradition, which could be developed in any number of ways. This network, much less formal than the *ordo* established by abbeys that derived from Cîteaux, which came together every year in a General Chapter, was ultimately held together more by ties of friendship than by any institutional structure. Between 1075 and 1091, however, the movement was held together by William's conscious policy of establishing Hirsau as a center for reform, in a manner that never happened at Cluny. His biographer, Haimo, writing soon after William's death in 1091, recalled that he was admired for inspiring people from widely different social backgrounds to follow a religious life: "He incited nobles and common-folk, rich and poor, men and women, to reject the world, kindling each of them to love of heavenly life by word and example."[17] He encouraged laymen to pursue

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[15] *Scivias* 2.5.45, pp. 213–14.

[16] See Klaus Schreiner, "Hirsau und die Hirsauer Reform. Spiritualität, Lebensform und Sozialprofil einer benediktinischen Erneuerungsbewegung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert," in *Hirsau. St. Peter und Paul 1091–1991*, ed. Klaus Schreiner, Forschungen und Berichte der Archäologie des Mittelalters in Baden-Württemberg 10 (Stuttgart, 1991) pt. 2, pp. 59–97. On the *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses*, printed in PL 150:923A–1146D, see Norbert Riemann, "Die Konstitutionen des Abtes Wilhelm von Hirsau," in *Hirsau. St. Peter und Paul 1091–1991*, pt. 2, pp. 101–08.

[17] *Vita beati Wilhelmi abbatis* 6, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS 12:213: "Nobiles et ignobiles, divites et pauperes, viros et mulieres, ad contemptum mundi incitabat, ac singularos ad amorem caelestis vitae verbo et exemplo accendebat."

a religious life alongside monks, without becoming monks themselves.[18] William's biographer recalls his detestation of the practice of kissing an abbot's hands and knees, as well as his distaste for extravagant monastic clothes and utensils.[19] William believed that monks had a strong responsibility to criticize abuses within the Church as a whole.

William's decision to make Hirsau a focus for resistance to Henry IV, who supported Clement III as Pope from 1080 to 1100, rather than Gregory VII (1073–1085) and Urban II (1088–1090), generated criticism, not just from pro-imperial bishops, but even from monasteries (like Lorsch) that were aligned with the imperial cause. In 1077, Hirsau narrowly avoided destruction from an imperial army due to the sudden death of its leader, Werner, bishop of Strasbourg.[20] Treatises circulated accusing the monks of Hirsau of abandoning the cloister to preach the cause of reform, and thus threatening the traditional fabric of society.[21] William's biographer presents his hero as constantly seeking out the company of the poor and unlearned, women as well as men, with whom he could share the Gospel. He emphasizes the public character of his influence on "virgins, widows and women" alongside bishops, priests, and clerics. Individuals turned to William "as if to the bosom of a mother."[22] After William died, one of the older monks at Hirsau was so upset by the decision of his successor—that the monastery would no longer provide alms for the poor—that this monk reported to his brothers that he had been warned in a vision about the need to respect William's observances, in particular the importance he attached to looking after guests and the poor.[23] William provided Hildegard with an example of a monastic leader who did not shy away from speaking out against corruption in public life, or from providing a model of concern for both monks and nuns within monasticism.

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[18] Bernold of St Blaise praises these communities of layfolk in his *Chronicon*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 5:439, 452–53; see Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), pp. 77–80.

[19] Haimo, *Vita Willihelmi* 7, MGH SS 12:213.

[20] Ibid. 26, PL 150:918C; MGH SS 12:222.

[21] *Libellus de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* 2, 38–43, ed. W. Schwenkenbecher, MGH Libelli de Lite 2 (1892), pp. 266–82.

[22] Haimo, *Vita Willihelmi* 21, MGH SS 12:218.

[23] Ibid. SS 12:223: "Quantam ut diximus curam sui gerat monasterii sanctus pater Willihelmus iam regnans cum Deo, per aliam etiam visionem satis manifeste ostensum satis manifeste ostensum est. Quam sicut referente quodam seniore innocente et simplici viro, cui eadem caelitus facta est visio didicimus, scribendo posteris transmittere necessarium duximus, qui per eam admonentur Hirsaugienses tam futuri quam praesentes, ut statuta saepe dicti patris diligenter observent, maxime in dispositione domus pauperum et hospitum, et in observatione claustralis disciplinae."

William was also a scholar, writing treatises on both music and astronomy in the form of a dialogue with "Otholus," certainly his friend Otloh of St Emmeram (1010–*c.*1070).[24] In the preface to his dialogue on astronomy, William described how he had been urged not to bury his talent for learning, but to use his understanding of the natural world, through which the Creator reveals himself. These were ideas which Otloh had himself developed in his *Liber de admonitione clericorum et laicorum*, a treatise that argues that it was the duty of a monk to explain the Christian message to both educated and uneducated elements in society.[25] The best way to communicate Christian truths was in the same manner as that of Christ himself, through parables or analogies drawn from experience. Clerics endowed with intelligence should not bury their talents, but use them for the greater good. Layfolk should be goaded towards love of the Creator through everything in nature, whether through the seasons, flowers, grass, trees, and fruit, or the beauty of precious stones, painting, or music. In this way, the uneducated could be inspired and strengthened in their pursuit of a religious life. William justified his own interest in science by citing an argument from Cassian (itself based on a discussion of St Ambrose, inspired by Wisdom 7:17–20) that Adam had been endowed with the gift of divine prophecy with complete knowledge of all creatures, as well as of the power of grasses, and the nature of trees, stones, and the seasons.[26] Very similar ideas would be promoted by Hildegard. Whether or not she knew William's writings directly, or was here drawing upon Cassian, she shared the same passion for understanding both the natural world and music. Growing up at Disibodenberg, she could not have avoided hearing about the example William presented.

Disibodenberg and Hildegard's Early Years

The chronicle of Disibodenberg opens with a vivid presentation of three decades of political turbulence that led to its refoundation as a monastery by Archbishop Ruthard of Mainz on May 11, 1107. After mentioning

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[24] Joachim Wiesenbach, "Wilhelm von Hirsau. Astrolab und Astronomie im 11. Jahrhundert." In *Hirsau. St. Peter und Paul 1091–1991*, pt. 2, pp. 109–54.

[25] Otloh, *Liber ad admonitione clericorum et laicorum*, PL 146:243C–262C.

[26] John Cassian, *Collationes* VIII.21, CSEL 13 (Vienna, 1886), p. 238, quoted by William, PL 146:1642A–B: "Ab illa uera physicae philosophiae disciplina tradita sibi a maioribus exciderunt, quam primus homo ille, qui uniuersarum naturarum institutionem e uestigio subsecutus est, potuit euidenter adtingere suisque posteris certa ratione transmittere."

how Archbishop Willigis had installed canons at Disibodenberg in 975, on an abandoned site where there had once been monks, it goes into detail describing the events that led to Archbishop Ruthard's ousting of the canons and his replacement of them with monks. It explains the discord that arose in Germany in 1075 between Henry IV and the Saxon princes, as provoked by Henry's desire to control the Church. The chronicle describes how opposition to Henry from his wife Adelheid (also known as Praxedis, daughter of the Grand Duke of Kiev), and then from his son Conrad, eventually led to the decision by Archbishop Ruthard, once imperial chancellor, to go into exile in Thuringia in 1098.[27] Following the military defeat of Henry IV by his son Henry V, Ruthard returned to Mainz, where he began to establish a series of new monastic foundations in and around the city. Having been based in exile at an abbey (St Peter's Erfurt) that had itself been reformed by William of Hirsau, it was natural that Ruthard should promote the cause of Hirsau in and around Mainz. He issued a charter announcing his intention to displace the canons of Disibodenberg with monks on May 11, 1107. Its first abbot was Burchard, abbot of St James, Mainz—another abbey that followed the example of Hirsau.[28]

According to the chronicle, construction of the new abbey at Disibodenberg only began on June 30, 1108. Yet, if Hildegard's parents offered their tenth child to religious life in the eighth year of her life (1105), this would have been in the year of Ruthard's return to Mainz, but before he had installed monks on the site. Whether they initially intended Hildegard to join a monastery is not certain. The text of the *Vita domnae Juttae inclusae*, daughter of Sophia and Meinhard, count of Sponheim (d. 1095), suggests that Hildegard and Jutta were originally assigned to the care of a nurse at a separate location from the abbey.[29] This *Vita*, written (possibly

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[27] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, MGH SS 17:7–8, 16; Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, pp. 7–8, 19. William's foundation of St Peter's Erfurt is mentioned in Haimo, *Vita Willihelmi* 22, PL 150:913C; MGH SS 12:218; the Mainz abbeys St James and St Alban's are mentioned by Trithemius as reformed by Hirsau, PL 150:925B.

[28] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, MGH SS 17:20; Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, p. 19. Silvas translates the foundation charter of Disibodenberg, pp. 30–31.

[29] Franz Staab, "Vita domnae Juttae inclusae," as part of his study, "Reform und Reformgruppen im Erzbistum Mainz. Vom 'Libellus de Willigisi consuetudinibus' zur 'Vita domnae Juttae inclusae," in *Reformidee und Reformpolitik im spätsalisch-frühstaufischen Reich. Vorträge der Tagung der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte vom 11. bis 13. September 1991 in Trier*, ed. Stefan Weinfurter, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Geschichte 68 (Mainz, 1992), pp. 119–87, esp. 172–87; Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, pp. 65–84. Fiona Maddocks adopts the chronology implied by the "Life of Jutta" in her *Hildegard of Bingen. The Woman of Her Age* (London, 2001), pp. 17–21, but assumes that

by Volmar) soon after her death in 1136, reports that the young Jutta first chose to reject marriage in 1105/1106, when she was just 13 years old. She apparently asked permission from Ruthard to adopt the habit of a nun, and was then placed with Hildegard, six years her junior, under the care of Uda, a widow of Göllheim. Jutta's early dreams of going on pilgrimage were forestalled by her brother, Meinhard, who directed her to become a recluse at Disibodenberg. Jutta, Hildegard, and two other women were all formally enclosed at that abbey, then still under construction, on the feast of All Saints (November 1) 1112. While this solemn ceremony is reported both in the *Chronicle* of the abbey and in the *Vita Juttae*, Hildegard herself never mentions it.[30] She reports only that between her 8th and 15th years (i.e. 1105–1112) she spoke frequently to her nurse about her visions, but then she became timid and did not dare speak about them.[31] Hildegard's oblation was a separate event from her formal enclosure as a recluse, when she was officially dedicated to a life of prayer and contemplation. Hildegard may thus have moved to Disibodenberg only in 1112, when she was just 14 years of age, following the decision of Jutta, then 20 years old.

Jutta's biographer attached great importance to the ceremony of rejecting the world and the ascetic practice to which she committed herself. Yet Hildegard never defined herself as a recluse. Her silence about the first 30 years of her life at Disibodenberg suggests that she was not fully comfortable with the spiritual conventions to which she had to commit herself in the first 30 years of her life in the abbey. Jutta's biographer reports that she engaged in ascetic practices that involved intense mortification of the flesh, leading ultimately to her premature death in 1136 at the age of 44. While Hildegard's early life was spent in Jutta's shadow, she never embraced this zeal for personal asceticism. Given her known concern for her own health, it seems most likely that she devoted her early life at Disibodenberg to building up her knowledge of the therapeutic properties of plants and stones, learning that she would distill in her *Cause et cure* and *Physica* after she had moved to Rupertsberg *c.*1148. Only after Jutta's death in 1136 would events conspire to lead Hildegard to commit her visions to writing. As she indicates at the outset of *Scivias*, she only evolved from a recluse to a visionary through the support of a certain monk (Volmar, who had been entrusted to teach Hildegard and the other women who had

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Hildegard was offered up when she was at the age of eight (i.e. 1106), rather than in her eighth year, 1105. This confusion is widely repeated.

[30] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, MGH SS 17:25; Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, p. 23.

[31] See above, footnote 2.

gathered around Jutta) as well as another woman (possibly Richardis von Stade) with whom she was close.

The growth of a community of female recluses around Jutta, alongside the male community at Disibodenberg, would not have been without strains, given the building activity taking place on that relatively confined site over these years. In 1138 there were ceremonies to dedicate newly constructed altars at the abbey in honor of the confessors (Pope Saint Clement, Pope Gregory the Great, Saint Martin, and Saint Nicholas), Saint Benedict, John the Evangelist, and various virgin martyrs, and to reinter with great solemnity the newly discovered relics of St Disibod. The new monastery itself, with its high altar, was officially dedicated by Henry, archbishop of Mainz in 1143, while the chapel of the Virgin and St Disibod was dedicated only in 1146.[32] When Hildegard started to record her visions about the building of the true *Ecclesia* that provided the driving theme of *Scivias*, she was providing her own perspective on a process of renewal that had been developing at Disibodenberg ever since she was a child.

Women, Visionary Experience, and the Hirsau Reform

The situation of female recluses living alongside a community of monks was not unusual in the late 11th century, particularly in communities influenced by the reforms of William of Hirsau.[33] A female disciple of William of Hirsau who became known for her visions is Herluca of Epfach (d. 1127), whose life was described by her close admirer and friend, Paul of Bernried.[34] According to Paul, Herluca adopted the strict life of a recluse after a period of illness as a young woman, a scenario not unlike that described in the *Vita Juttae*. Sometime around 1091, William of Hirsau had advised her to settle in one place "wherever she might more experience divine sweetness."[35] She then spent the next 36 years of her life at Epfach,

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[32] *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, MGH SS 17:25–26; Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, pp. 24–27.

[33] Urban Küsters, "Formen und Modelle religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Umkreis der Hirsauer Reform des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Hirsau. St. Peter und Paul 1091–1991*, pt. 2, pp. 195–220. See also Julie Hotchin, "Female Religious Life and the *Cura Monialium* in Hirsau Monasticism, 1080–1150," in *Listen, Daughter. The* Speculum Virginum *and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant Mews (New York, 2001), pp. 59–83.

[34] *Vita B. Herlucae Auctore Bernriedensi Presbytero*, in *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis II* (Brussels, 1865), pp. 549–54 [= Antwerp 1675, 552–57]. For further detail, see Constant J. Mews, "Hildegard, Visions and Religious Reform in Twelfth-Century Germany," in *Angesicht*, pp. 325–42.

[35] *Vita B. Herlucae*, I, 13, 551: "Praefatus quoque Wilhelmus Abbas consilium ei dederat, ut in quocunque loco divinam magis experiretur dulcedinem, in eo quam maxime longam

along with a few other pious women. Paul was particularly impressed by her reputation for experiencing visions and revelations, as he describes in both his *Gregorii VII Vita* and his *Vita beatae Herlucae*. He relates how she once had a vision of Jesus Christ with wounded hands, and then one of Wicterp, the 7th-century bishop of Augsburg to whose memory Herluca was devoted. Wicterp asked her if she was not horrified by the bloody wounds of the Savior, and whether she wanted to see them again. When she said that she did not, Wicterp then replied: "Then do not listen any more to the Masses of Richard the Priest, who does not wish to preserve the chastity due to his office." Richard, the priest of the church to which Herluca was attached, had been the target of some suspicion that he had been excessively intimate with her companion Douda. After this episode, Herluca confronted the priest to get him to mend his ways and inspired the local congregation to do the same.[36] Another report of her visionary gift is a story of how one day she suddenly exclaimed, "Woe, woe, woe to that man. It was better for him if he had not been born!" When a female companion asked why she said this, she explained that at that moment she had seen the soul of a certain unchaste priest taken down into hell by demons.[37] Paul presented Herluca as sympathizing closely with the campaign of Gregory VII against morally corrupt clergy. Although Paul presented her as an unlettered woman, she apparently exchanged "truly comforting letters" with another recluse, Diemut of Wessobrun, who is only known from an 18th-century record, which states that these letters were still kept at Bernried.[38] Diemut was a celebrated scribe, known to

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faceret conversandi stabilitatem. Tales ergo duces secuta, continuavit habitationem suam Eptatici plus minus triginta sex annos."

[36] Paul of Bernried, "Gregorii VII Vita," in *Pontificum Romanorum . . . Vitae*, ed. Johannes Matthias Watterich (Leipzig, 1862, reprinted Aalen, 1966), 1, p. 542: "Felicis namque memoriae virgo Herluca, cui familiares erant visiones et revelationes Domini cum informationibus apostolorum fideli relatu nobis insinuavit, quod ipsa vice quadam, dum solitaria resedisset in cellula sua, subito viderat Dominum Iesum ad se introire, comitante beato Wicterpo, Augustensis ecclesiae quondam praesule habitoque paulisper silentio, subsistere et vulnera tantum sua cruore manantia ostendere. Cumque horripilasset a timore visionis insolitae, affatus est eam episcopus ita dicens: Abhorresne, soror, a cruenta specie Salvatoris? Ait: etiam Domine. Vis eum, inquit, taliter ulterius non videre? Respondit: Volo. Noli, inquit, ergo amodo Richardi presbyteri missas audire, qui debitam tanto officio castimoniam non vult custodire. Sic etnim vocabatur presbyter, qui illi ecclesiae indignus praeerat, iuxta quam virgo Deo dedita manebat. Ex tunc eum publica visitatione confutavit et exemplo suo plebem ut idem faceret animavit." Cf. *Vita B. Herlucae* 22, p. 554.

[37] Paul of Bernried, "Gregorii VII Vita," 115, pp. 542–43.

[38] See the entry "Herluca" in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, ed. Filippo Caraffa, vol. 5 (Rome, 1964), p. 7, quoting from Magnoald Ziegelbauer, *Historia rei litterariae Ordinis B. Benedicti* 3 (Augsburg, 1754), pp. 494–96: "Extant adhuc epistole suaves valde in monasterio Beronica, quod vulgariter nunc dicitur Pernried, per ipsam [Diemut] virginem sanctam misse, et

have copied at least 50 manuscripts for the monks of Wessobrun. Herluca may not have been as unlettered as Paul of Bernried claimed. While Herluca never achieved the fame of Hildegard of Bingen, her example reminds us that it was not unknown for women in the early 12th century to speak out from the authority of visionary experience. For Herluca, the meaning of a vision was revealed to her by Bishop Wicterp. For Hildegard, it was the Living Light which revealed to her the meaning of the images which came into her mind.

A narrative of particular value for illuminating the distinct values of reformed monasticism in Germany is the chronicle, written sometime between 1134 and 1156, of the abbey of Petershausen, reformed by monks from Hirsau in 1083.[39] Its chronicler reports that under William's direction, Hirsau became an important place of refuge, not just for monks, but also for clerics and laypeople of every rank who were critical of the ecclesiastical policies promoted by Henry IV.[40] In his opening preface, the Petershausen chronicler reviews the role of the different orders within the Church, and consciously defends against potential criticism the practice of nuns dwelling alongside monks as "not despicable, but rather praiseworthy, so that both sexes, while separated from each other, might be saved in one place."[41] Not all admirers of William of Hirsau shared these ideas. Ulrich of Zell, a monk of St Emmeram who spent many years at Cluny, praised William of Hirsau for keeping women at a distanc.e from a male community.[42] Ulrich

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iterum ipsius Herluce vice versa transmisse, quibus se mutuis recreando se confortantes." For the books copied by Diemut at Wessobrun, see Paul Ruf, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, Bistum Augsburg 3.1 (Munich, 1932), pp. 178–83.

[39] The Latin text of the Petershausen chronicle is printed with a German translation by Otto Feger, ed., *Die Chronik des Klosters Petershausen*, Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit 3 (Lindau, 1956).

[40] *Casus Monasterii Petrishusensis* 2.48, eds. Heinrich Friedrich Otto Abel and Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS 20:648: "De Hirsaugia. Ea tempestate spiritalis disciplinae ardor quam maxime fervebat apud monasterium quod dicitur Hirsaugia, et multi tam nobilium quam ignobilium clericorum et laicorum, set et monachorum de aliis locis illuc confluebant et de procella anathematis, quae tunc navim aecclesiae vehementer impingebat, quasi de maximo naufragio emergentes, illic quasi ad portum confugiebant et quietem optatae salutis se invenisse emergentes, illic quasi ad portum confugiebant et quietem optate salutis se invenisse gaudebant."

[41] *Casus Monasterii Petrishusensis* Pref. 9, MGH SS 20:625: "De sanctimonialibus. Ubi hoc quoque notandum, quod devote mulieres pariter cum sanctis discipulis Deo militabant, et ideo hoc exemplo non est vituperabile, set magis laudabile, si sanctimoniales feminae in servorum Dei monasteriis recipiantur, ut uterque sexus, ab invicem tamen sequestratus, uno in loco salvetur."

[42] PL 149:637B–C. Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel, "Engelberg, Interlaken und andere autonome Doppelklöster im Südwesten des Reiches (11.–13. Jahrhundert). Zur Quellenproblematik und zur historiographischen Tradition," in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der*

would have been familiar with the practice of noble women having their own community at Marcigny, some physical distance from Cluny. William himself, however, like his disciple, Theoger of St Georgen (d. 1119), was particularly active in encouraging women to pursue a religious life alongside men.[43] The chronicler of Petershausen devotes particular attention to the holy lives of various nuns living alongside monks at the abbey. He reports how a certain Regilinda once saw from her sickbed an older man leading her through a garden of overwhelming sweetness and then showing her a procession of brilliantly clothed saints drawing ever closer to eternal light.[44] The reverence that the monks of Disibodenberg accorded Jutta and then Hildegard parallels the enthusiasm of the chronicler of Petershausen for holy nuns, perceived as privileged with insight into the secrets of heaven.

The chronicler also includes a long report of a vision written by Bernard, a monk of Petershausen celebrated for his wisdom and erudition, who had been sent to the abbey by William of Hirsau in 1086.[45] The allegorical style of Bernard's vision anticipates that of Hildegard in a number of ways, not least in that his description is accompanied by an illustration in the manuscript of the chronicle.[46] Bernard reports that in a dream he saw himself standing with four others under the sky. He looked up and saw a ball of glowing ashes coming from heaven, crossing the sky and then falling to earth. A ladder was erected from the earth to heaven for people to climb, with the result that they were incinerated by the fire in heaven in the same way as others who had risen from the dead. Some of these ashes were white; others were black. He realized that these were the righteous and the wicked mixed together, the glowing ashes being those souls purified by fire. This prompted him to climb the ladder and glimpse the divine glory. The guardian of heaven allowed him to enter into a great palace, where he saw a procession of the righteous approaching the throne of the Lord. Unable to hide, Bernard and his companion were thrown two loaves of bread and wine. Stricken with remorse for his own sinfulness and terrorized by the thought of the empty penances he had performed on earth, he could not understand how his life had been spared. He then awoke to realize that this vision had been a dream. Bernard's vision of the

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Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter, eds. Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse, Berliner Historische Studien 18 (Berlin, 1992), pp. 115–33.

[43] *Vita Theogeri* I.20, 25–27, ed. Philipp Jaffé, MGH SS 12:458, 459–61.

[44] *Monasterii Petrishusensis* 5.19, MGH SS 20:673.

[45] Ibid. 3.2, 18, MGH SS 20:649, 651–53.

[46] The illustration is reproduced by Feger in his introduction, *Die Chronik des Klosters Petershausen*, p. 14.

life to come serves to warn the faithful of the gulf that separates what is truly pleasing to God from the appearance of external piety. The combination of text and visual image echoes the much better known combination of text and image in the Rupertsberg manuscript of *Scivias.*

While Bernard's description of his vision cannot compare with the scale and sophistication of Hildegard's accounts of her visions (perceived, she insists, not in a dream, but while awake), it does show how it was not unusual for individuals to communicate in this way within a monastic context, particularly in the early years of the Hirsau reform. Many of the visions that the Petershausen chronicler reports are of a more conventional variety: stories about how Bernard himself had been seen wandering through the monastic cloister after his death, or visions of the afterlife.[47] All these stories serve to press home the chronicler's theme that the early monks and nuns of Petershausen lived out the evangelical excitement of the early Church, and were often entrusted by the Holy Spirit with remarkable insight.

Hildegard and the Speculum virginum

A treatise that in many ways embodies the commitment of the Hirsau reform to promoting the spiritual life of religious women who had withdrawn from the world is the *Speculum virginum*, attributed by Trithemius to Conrad of Hirsau—an author about whom frustratingly little is known for certain.[48] The *Speculum virginum* is written in the form of an extended dialogue between a learned and inquiring woman, Theodora, and her spiritual advisor, Peregrinus. The goal of the treatise is to lead religious women to reflect on the virtues, through reflecting on a series of visual images related to the cross and the tree of life. The author implies that dialogue between a learned woman and her spiritual advisor was not in itself as dangerous a phenomenon as some might believe. In his eyes, spiritual women, devoted to the life of perfection, could in fact serve as models of virtue in the same way as any monk.

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[47] *Monasterii Petrishusensis* 3.19–20, 22; 4.3, 19, MGH SS 20:653, 654–65, 661, 664.

[48] *Speculum virginum*, ed. Jutta Seyfarth, CCCM 5 (Turnhout, 1990). On its author, see Constant J. Mews, "Virginity, Theology and Pedagogy in the *Speculum virginum*," in *Listen, Daughter*, pp. 15–40. An important new study on Conrad, confirming his authorship of various texts attributed to him by Trithemius, is Marco G. Rainini, "Oltre il velo delle immagini. Il 'Dialogus de cruce' (Clm 14159) e Corrado/Peregrinus di Hirsau," *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo*, 6.1 (2009): 121–58.

While there is no clear internal evidence as to the dating of the *Speculum virginum*, it appears to have been written during the 1130s. It contains no explicit allusions to the writing of Hugh of St Victor or Bernard of Clairvaux, as if it were written before their writings had become widely known.[49] The claim of Trithemius that the *Speculum virginum* was composed by a monk called Conrad who had been a disciple of William of Hirsau is not implausible. His identification of its author with a monk of Hirsau is indirectly supported by an early catalogue of its very impressive library, which included the writings of Peregrinus. There is also testimony from the early 16th century that the work and its author, identified as Conrad, were given particular esteem at Hirsau itself. Trithemius reports that Conrad was a prolific author, many of whose writings have not survived.[50] Nonetheless, his *Accessus ad auctores* and *Dialogus de contemptu et amore mundi* demonstrate that he was an exceptionally erudite monk, determined to establish a method for combining the positive moral instruction available in pagan authors with a spirit of detachment from the world. The extensive and frequently vivid dialogue that he assigns to Theodora in the *Speculum virginum* suggests that he may well have had experience in looking after a community of female recluses. The autograph manuscript of the *Speculum virginum* belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Eberbach, founded by Bernard of Clairvaux in 1136.[51] Complaints from the abbot of Hirsau in the late 1130s that some of his monks were transferring their obedience to the Cistercians makes it possible that Conrad was one of those monks who migrated from Hirsau or a dependent community to the Cistercian order.[52]

While a number of early copies of the *Speculum virginum* survive in Cistercian religious houses, an important early copy belonged to the

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[49] The major study on the *Speculum* is Matthäus Bernards, *Speculum virginum. Geistigkeit und Seelenleben der Frau im Hochmittalter*, 2nd ed. (Cologne, 1982).

[50] Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, in *Opera historica*, ed. Marquard Freher (Frankfurt, 1601; reprint Frankfurt, 1996), 1:276–77. On the library catalogue and the testimony of Parsimonius, second Protestant abbot of Hirsau, see Mews, "Virginity, Theology and Pedagogy," p. 18, and Felix Heinzer, "Buchkultur und Bibliotheksgeschichte Hirsaus," in *Hirsau. St. Peter und Paul 1091–1991*, pt. 2, pp. 259–96, esp. p. 264. This article is reprinted in Felix Heinzer, *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 85–167.

[51] Heinzer notes the previously undetected affinity of this manuscript (London, British Library, Arundel 44, produced *c.*1140–1145), with those of Hirsau, "Buchkultur und Bibliotheksgeschichte Hirsaus," pp. 270–71; *Klosterreform*, pp. 108–11.

[52] *Württembergisches Urkundenbuch* (Stuttgart, 1883; reprinted Aalen, 1974), 4:348, no. XLIX.

Augustinian community at Andernach. This was home to the *magistra* Tenxwind, a figure known to Hildegard who apparently objected to the extravagant behavior she had heard was being followed by Hildegard's nuns at her established community of Rupertsberg, apparently soon after its foundation *c.*1150. Tenxwind's critique of the extravagant garb worn by Hildegard's nuns on this occasion matches the strict moralism of the *Speculum virginum*, with its aspersions on extravagant dress.[53] Hildegard is likely to have known the work, with its emphasis on interior nobility and cultivation of inward virtue. Yet even if she was excited by the pedagogical possibility of using visual imagery to encourage her female disciples to pursue a spiritual life, she also sought to develop a quite distinct perspective that was not encouraged by the author of the *Speculum virginum*, that of visionary experience. Whereas in the dialogues of the *Speculum virginum*, Peregrinus provided learned commentary on illustrations to edify Theodora, Hildegard preferred to present her own images in the form of a vision.

Visions and the Cause of Religious Reform

In so doing, Hildegard found her most powerful authority in the writings of Isaiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, and above all John the Divine. She also drew inspiration for her vision of *Ecclesia* from the *Pastor Hermas*, a 2nd-century dream narrative known to the Fathers of the Church, which recognized the legitimacy of prophecy within the Church but was not accorded full canonical status within ecclesiastical tradition. There were other visionary accounts to which she could have had access. A rare example of a visionary account actually written by a woman in the early Church is that of Perpetua (d. 203), preserved within the *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*.[54] Most visionary accounts prior to the 12th century are, however, relatively impersonal. They are reports about someone else's encounter with Christ or the Virgin, or some experience of the life without dwelling on the actual experience of the vision. This certainly is the case with those

[53] See the exchange between Hildegard and Tenxwind, *Epistolarium*, I, 52–52R, pp. 125–30, and Mews, "Hildegard of Bingen, the *Speculum Virginum* and Religious Reform," in *Umfeld*, pp. 237–67.

[54] See Jacqueline Amat, ed., *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité suivi des Actes*, SC 417 (Paris, 1996), pp. 51–66, for discussion of its authorship and transmission.

visions about the hereafter included by Gregory the Great in the fourth book of his *Dialogues*.[55]

A more personal approach to visionary experience can be seen in the writing of Otloh of St Emmeram, a friend of William of Hirsau, who created an unusually personal account of his experience in monastic life, presented as a book of the temptations experienced by "a certain monk."[56] He also composed a *Liber visionum*, modeled on the fourth book of Gregory's *Dialogues*, in which he describes a series of visions that concern not so much the reality of the next world as the necessity for individuals to change their awareness and way of life if they are to live according to God's will.[57] Otloh departs from Gregory's precedent by claiming the authority of his own experience for the first four visions that he describes. The others he attributes to hearsay or culls from his reading of various early medieval writings: a letter of St Boniface to abbess Eadburg of Thanet, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*. He is interested in visions perceived while awake as well as in dreams. One, for example, is presented as the vision of a certain pauper who sat every day outside the church of St Emmeram but who described how he had been transplanted to a great metallic dwelling place without windows, in which were enclosed those who resisted the peace of the Emperor Henry.[58] The pauper was then taken to a wide field with a deep well to which there were many paths (*viae*), some badly worn, and was finally raised to a high mountain on which a great monastery had been built, which was inappropriate for him to identify. His guide showed him that almost all the paths were worn, with the result that those who dwelt there were more involved in fornication and other vices than the service of God. The pauper then saw a tree of immense size stretching up from the ground to the heavens but dried up in the middle. When asked by his guide if he knew what it meant, he was told that it signified Bishop Gebhard (d. 1060), who had in part dried up like a tree, and would shortly have to be cut down. The prophecy was proven by the death of bishop Gebhard not long afterward.[59] Otloh uses the pauper as a literary device by which he can present his own understanding of "the ways of the Lord." Hildegard's presentation of

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[55] Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, IV, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, SC 265 (Paris, 1980).

[56] *Otloh von St. Emmeram: "Liber de temptatione cuiusdam monachi": Untersuchung, kritische Edition und Übersetzung*, ed. Sabine Gäbe (Bern, 1999).

[57] Otloh von St Emmeram, *Liber visionum*, ed. Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Weimar, 1989).

[58] Otloh, *Visio* 10, ed. Schmidt, pp. 72–74.

[59] Ibid., p. 74.

"the ways of the Lord" in *Scivias* may be much more elaborate, but she follows the same expository technique as Otloh employs: she describes an allegorical image and then offers an interpretation of that image. Whereas for Otloh it is the unnamed guide who explicates the vision to the pauper, for Hildegard it is "the Living Light" who reveals the significance of the images that she sees.[60]

In many ways, Otloh was a traditional monastic moralist, primarily concerned with castigating hypocritical monks and clerics, and distrustful of those who relied excessively on secular learning. His only example of a woman's vision relates to a nun to whom the Empress Theophanu revealed that she, the Empress, was suffering eternal torment for having introduced luxurious fashions into France and Germany, and thus causing other women to sin by lusting after similar clothes.[61] This moralism led him to emphasize that the simple and uneducated can sometimes have more insight than those in authority, as in his account of the pauper's vision of Bishop Gebhard.

Otloh's awareness of how nature, art, and music could lead us back to God illustrates the intellectual concerns current among reform-minded monks in Germany in the 11th century, picked up by William of Hirsau. This type of thinking was shared by many reform-minded monks in the late 11th century, and Hildegard would build upon this in her own way. Whether she ever came across Otloh's writings is not known. Nonetheless, she shared his conviction that knowledge of the natural world was itself a way of coming closer to God, and that visions provided a powerful way by which she could communicate her insights to a wider audience.

Hildegard and Rupert of Deutz

Hildegard's inspiration did not come only from houses connected to the Hirsau reform. At Disibodenberg, she would certainly have been exposed to the prolific output of Rupert of Deutz (*c.*1075–1129), whose writings circulated widely throughout abbeys in the Rhineland and beyond, even during his own lifetime.[62] Originally a monk at Saint-Laurent in Liège, Rupert left that city when his abbot was expelled by a hostile bishop.

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[60] See *Speaking New Mysteries*, p. 28, on Otloh's discussion of several parables with moral lessons.

[61] Otloh, *Visio* 17, ed. Schmidt, p. 91.

[62] On Rupert, see John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, 1970).

Rupert sought protection from Kuno II of Siegburg, bishop of Regensburg and then archbishop of Cologne. After staying at Siegburg 1113–1120, he spent the last decade of his life (1120–1129) as abbot of Deutz, where he completed a vast series of commentaries on Scripture interpreted as the record of the influence of the working of the Holy Spirit through history. He was particularly critical of the theological arguments developed in the French schools, in particular those of Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux, whom he sought to confront in person in 1117. Of particular interest for understanding Hildegard's claim to have experienced a flash of divine insight is an account he includes within his treatise on the glorification of the Trinity and the procession of the Holy Spirit, written between March and August 1128. Rupert interrupts his discussion of the famous signs recorded in Scripture of the coming of the Holy Spirit (for example, the dove settling above the Lord and the flames of fire settling upon the apostles) with two examples of the working of the Holy Spirit in his own day. His examples are carefully chosen to refer to both a woman and a man.

The first is the case of a girl called Waldrada, then getting ready for a marriage with which she was uncomfortable.[63] One night, as she stayed awake while others were sleeping, she was overcome by the descent of the Holy Spirit. According to Rupert, Waldrada was lying in the room next to her mother, a widow, who was the only person to witness a great fire come over her, which penetrated her mouth and the inner parts of her womb. Her mother woke up, thinking the house was on fire. All she knew was that Waldrada was weeping copiously, something she continued to do abundantly from that time on. This was proof of what Rupert knew from the Gospel of John, "The Spirit blows where it wills and you hear its voice, but you do not know from where it is coming or where it is going" (Jn 3:8). From that time on, Waldrada remained committed to holy virginity until her old age as a recluse. The other example he offers is that of an *alius quidam* who was experiencing a long bout of depression about his situation, which Rupert relates was not unusual among adolescents. This person saw heaven open, and something like a shining coin (*talentum*) of a living substance descended into his breast and shook him from sleep; it was heavier than gold and sweeter than honey. At first it stayed still, then it moved around within him. Rupert describes it as "a living thing and

[63] Rupert of Deutz, *De glorificatione Trinitatis et processione Spiritus Sanctus* 2.18, PL 169: 48C–D (Paris, 1854).

true life" (*res viva et vera vita*), always going around in circles greater than the one before until it became like a great river filling his heart and soul. The interior man wanted to see more clearly what that living substance was, but it stayed hidden. "Finally I saw, he says, that that most beautiful substance was like liquid gold."[64]

The *alius quidam* referred to in this passage is certainly Rupert himself. He was here quoting almost word for word from the longer account that he provides of his early experiences within the 12th book of his commentary on Matthew, written *c.*1125–1127.[65] Here he describes to Kuno, formerly abbot of Siegburg and now bishop of Regensburg, the visions which provoked him to embark on his literary career. Kuno had insisted that he explain why it was that after the Fathers of the Church had written so much, Rupert should devote himself to writing so much more about the meaning of Scripture. Like Hildegard, Rupert had been committed to the religious life by his parents when he was still a child. His conversion experience only started when as a young man, while contemplating an image of the Son of God, he was overwhelmed by the inner significance of what he saw. He gazed upon the living Son of Man on the cross, not with his physical eyes, but with his inner sight.[66] He was carried away by a taste of inner sweetness. Disappointed that this experience did not return, he confesses that he stayed in bed until he was called in a dream to visit the church. A sequence of visionary experiences followed. During Mass, he saw three persons of great dignity standing by the altar; two of them were of great age, and the third was a young man of distinguished form and regal dignity, as he could see from his clothing, who embraced him like a brother.[67] Rupert did not recognize immediately that this was the Son of God. Initially terrified by a prophecy that he would not live beyond another eight years, he subsequently realized that this should not be taken literally and that it was impossible to know when he would die.[68]

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[64] Rupert of Deutz, *De glorificatione Trinitatis* 2.18, PL 169:48D–49D.

[65] Rupert of Deutz, *De Gloria et honore filii hominis. Super Matthaeum* 12, ed. Rhaban Haacke, CCCM 29 (Turnhout, 1979), pp. 366–85. Walter Berschin has translated this autobiography into German under the title, *Os meum aperui. Die Autobiographie Ruperts von Deutz*, Koinonia Oriens 18 (Cologne, 1985), and comments on this text in "Visione e vocazione allo scrivere. L'autobiografia di Ruperto di Deutz," *Schede Medievali* 19 (1990): 297–303. Peter Dinzelbacher, ed., *Le 'Visiones' nella cultura medievale: testi della VI Settimana residenziale di studi medievali Carini, 20–25 ottobre 1986*, Scrinium 14 (Palermo, 1994).

[66] Rupert of Deutz, *Super Matthaeum*, CCCM 29:369.

[67] Ibid., CCCM 29:370–72.

[68] Ibid., CCCM 29:374–75.

The unifying theme behind Rupert's account, as indeed behind his whole eschatological vision, was a conviction that the Holy Spirit was continuously pouring itself out in history. This visitation of the Spirit he interpreted in very personal terms. He describes the experience as "a truly calm fire" (*ignis ualde serenus*) around which there was a great peace and security, so that he knew he need have no fear.[69] His description of this experience of the Holy Spirit was that of "a wonderful living thing and true life" that became richer and richer with each experience, and like "liquid gold" provided his readers with a new way of thinking about mystical experience. It parallels Hildegard's description in *Scivias* of a fiery light that filled her whole brain, heart, and breast. Rupert's comments about Waldrada provide a slender but precious witness to intense female piety in the early 12th century. By explaining to his readers that the Holy Spirit could descend on both an unlettered woman and a learned exegete, Rupert raised the possibility that a woman could be inspired by the Holy Spirit as much as any learned monk.

More than any previous commentator, Rupert relates his understanding of the text of the Song of Songs to personal experience. When commenting on 5:4: "My beloved thrust his hand through the door, and my womb trembled at his touch," Rupert reports the experience of "one of the young women" (*quaedam adulescentularum*) who felt a hand touching her breast, a hand that was "sweeter than oil and more agile than the wing of a bird," but a hand that did not wish to be caught. When gazing on the image of the Savior in a church, the image seemed to become alive; its right hand stretched out and made the sign of the cross, causing this "young woman" to tremble like the leaf of a tree.[70] The "young woman" in question was in fact himself, as he subsequently admitted in his commentary on Matthew.[71] Hildegard never quoted Rupert in such a slavish way that his influence can easily be glimpsed in her writings.[72] Nonetheless, she would certainly have found stimulus in his writings for thinking that visionary insight could provide a superior form of knowledge to that provided by the teachers in the schools of northern France.

While Hildegard shared Rupert's conviction that the Holy Spirit could be experienced as a living, interior fire, the way in which she employed

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[69] Ibid., CCCM 29:376.

[70] Rupert of Deutz, *In Cancticum Canticorum* 5, ed. Rhaban Haacke, CCCM 26 (Turnhout, 1974), pp. 110–11.

[71] Rupert of Deutz, *Super Matthaeum*, CCCM 29:394–95.

[72] See *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 185, 267, 283, 295, on other exegetical parallels.

the language of visionary discourse was very different. She never wrote about personal mystical experiences being inspired by meditation on the crucified Christ. Her conception of the Virgin is that of a much more of a cosmic figure through whom Christ becomes incarnate to humanity. She viewed the incarnation as the cornerstone for a vision of creation as a whole, which was sustained by the Holy Spirit. Rather than identify herself with the experiences of the Virgin in the manner Rupert describes in commenting on the Song of Songs, she defined herself as "a frail human being, ash of ash and filth of filth" (*homo fragilis et cinis cineris, et putredo putredinis*), a deliberate comparison of herself with Job as interpreted by Gregory the Great, the archetypal human being who has to learn the ways of God.[73]

Hildegard employs visionary descriptions, not to describe the next world, but to present her understanding of the way that the human soul relates to God. There can be no doubting the originality of her conception of both human nature and its eternal destiny. Her understanding of the *uiriditas* or life force animating the natural world provided her with a particularly vivid metaphor to explain the nature of the divinity that became incarnate in Christ himself. In both the final stanza of the *Ordo uirtutum*, and in the fifth vision of the *Liber diuinorum operum*, Hildegard alludes to the sufferings of Christ as a consequence of a weakening of *uiriditas* in creation.[74] Unlike Rupert of Deutz, however, her primary focus was not so much on the suffering of Christ as on the mystery of the incarnation as the path through which vitality could be restored to creation as a whole.

Hildegard's visions are very different from those of Otloh of St Emmeram in scale and conception. Yet it can be helpful to consider how both Otloh and Hildegard employed visions to define afresh "the ways of the Lord," not just for monks, but for clerics and laypeople alike. Visions provided a means for communicating a message both to educated and uneducated alike. A scholar could observe that her visions drew on a rich repertoire of scriptural imagery, laden with allegorical significance. At the same time, those who lacked formal instruction in exegesis could relate the visual images which she described to their own experience.

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[73] Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 3.31, ed. Marc Adriaen, CCCM 143 (Turnhout, 1979), p. 152.

[74] *Diu. operum* 3.5.8, p. 418; *Ordo*, p. 521.

Hildegard and Monastic Life

Leaving Disibodenberg *c.*1148 undoubtedly liberated Hildegard from an environment where she was feeling increasingly constrained. The writing of *Scivias* during that decade was a major achievement that inevitably created tensions within the community to which she was attached. In her opening vision, she implicitly rebuked those in the Church—hidden as it were in a mountain—who did not benefit directly from the grace of Christ. During those first 30 years at the abbey, she had had to subordinate herself to the personality of Jutta, whose zeal for extreme asceticism was not a practice she shared. Hildegard suffered regular bouts of physical incapacity and must have occupied herself with the task of looking after the herbs in the garden. The fund of knowledge that she recorded in her *Physica* and *Cause et cure* soon after she moved to Rupertsberg must have been gathered over many decades. She was always interested in the capacity of different parts of the natural world either to offer healing in the appropriate situation, or to be toxic when taken in the wrong way. The flash of insight that she reports experiencing in 1141 was marked by a decision to write down what she could "see and hear." Rather than rely on what any scholars had said about the meaning of the Bible, she sought to demonstrate that the Scriptures provided a way of thinking about the moral destiny of humankind, drawing on her experience of dynamic life—the *uiriditas* of nature—to explain the God-given life accorded to humanity, abused through sin. In a powerful way, she came to accept the constraints imposed on her by monasticism, the Bible, and ecclesiastical tradition, by identifying the central thread that she saw as most important, the insight given her by the Living Light. Moving away from Disibodenberg to Rupertsberg enabled her to develop her own identity and implement her vision away from the constraints of the past but with the assistance of Volmar, from whom she had gained so much.

At the same time, Hildegard was powerfully indebted to the monastic traditions she had absorbed at Disibodenberg, in particular through the liturgy. Just as Gregory the Great provided a set of 40 homilies on extracts of the Gospels set down for reading in the liturgy, so Hildegard sought to present her own reflections on the Gospels, interpreted in her own unique way.[75] While it is difficult to reconstruct her full liturgical experience at

[75] See the critical edition of *Expo. Euang.* and Kienzle's discussion of Hildegard's debt to Gregory, in *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 67–68, 78–80, 89–91, 123–27, 146–48, 151, 154, 167–68, 170–73, 177, 181–82, 203.

Disibodenberg, a 12th-century liturgical manuscript (Engelberg Ms. 103) containing a wide range of original melodies, including an Easter play, has been identified as a manuscript of St Disibod. Felix Heinzer's discovery that it records characteristic liturgical observances of the Hirsau reform enables us to better appreciate the context of Hildegard's fascination with music. Monastic houses that emulated Hirsau were free to develop their own practices within the framework of a common liturgical tradition.[76] Many of the monastic communities with whom Hildegard had close contact shared a common debt to Hirsau without being bound together by any formal ecclesiastical structure.[77] The absence of any overriding liturgical rules made it quite possible for Hildegard, once she had moved to Rupertsberg, to introduce her own melodies into the liturgy.

Hildegard's widely copied commentary on the Rule of Benedict nicely illustrates the way she interpreted a text whose observance was increasingly contested in the 12th century. Whereas William of Hirsau never commented on the Rule itself, but rather chose to adopt certain (but not all) of the observances of Cluny, Hildegard's commentary was concerned not so much with specific monastic observances as with the spirit of the Rule. Benedict's mind "burned in the love of God" and was never deprived of the Holy Spirit.[78] His genius was to establish "the sharp key of teaching neither too high, nor too low, but in the middle of the wheel, whether strong or weak, so that each person could drink from his teaching according to his capacity."[79] Whereas William of Hirsau had adapted the strict

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[76] I am indebted to Felix Heinzer of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek for alerting me to the significance of Engelberg Ms. 103. Ephrem Omlin argued that this manuscript came from St Disibod in "Das ältere Engelberger Osterspiel und der cod. 103 der Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg," in *Corolla Heremitana. Neue Beiträge zur Kunst und Geschichte Einsiedelns und der Innerschweiz*, ed. Alfred A. Schmid (Olten, 1964), pp. 101–26. Heinzer has observed that its liturgical contents correspond fully with that of the *Liber ordinarius* of the abbey of Rheinau, which, as he has shown, reproduces the liturgy of Hirsau, "Der Hirsauer Liber Ordinarius," *Revue Bénédictine* 102 (1992), 309–47, republished in Heinzer, *Klosterreform*, pp. 185–223. See also Heinzer, "Klösterliche Netzwerke und kulturelle Identität—Die Hirsauer Reform des 11./12. Jahrhunderts als Vorläufer spätmittelalterlicher Ordensstrukturen," in Heinzer, *Klosterreform*, pp. 168–84. William was himself remembered for having reformed the practice of chant, Haimo, *Vita Willihelmi*, MGH SS 12: "Cantibus errorem varium correxit ad artem," p. 225.

[77] Petrus Becker discusses these common links with particular reference to St Eucharius in "Die hirsauische Erneuerung des St Eucharius klosters in Trier," in *Consuetudines Monasticae. Eine Festgabe für Kassius Hallinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, Studia Anselmiana 85 (Rome, 1982), pp. 185–206.

[78] *De reg. Bened.*, p. 68.

[79] Ibid., p. 68.

system of sign language followed at Cluny, Hildegard observes that Benedict gave permission to speak when there was just reason.

> Indeed, because it is almost inhuman for a human being always to remain in silence and not to speak, the same father entrusted this to the power and discernment of the abbot, just as he conceded many other things to him, so that he could plan a suitable time when they might speak of honest and necessary things with each other, and they might not be afflicted with the tedium of unwise silence, since after permission for this kind of speaking, they can be more suitably and firmly warned and constrained to the quiet of silence.[80]

This is the same kind of psychology that she had used when counseling against excessive disciplining of children, who might otherwise run away.

Hildegard has little time for the prescriptions of monastic detail that William of Hirsau had sought to enforce, or for the emphasis on the letter of the Rule, expounded by the Cistercians. Rather, she reads the Rule as a work of spiritual instruction. Benedict instructs monks to recite the psalms wisely (Ps. 46: *psallite sapienter*), a precept she understands about singing joyfully and without tedium.[81] With a number of the precepts of the Rule, she recognizes that they were shaped by the time in which Benedict lived. Thus, the reason for his forbidding the flesh of quadrupeds, except for those who were weak, and not forbidding the eating of fowl was that the way of life for monks of his age was unsophisticated, and he did not wish to impose a general rule.[82] She was particularly struck by those passages of the Rule which spoke about the abbot acting with *humanitas*. The apparent implication of the Rule that monks were not to wear breeches was again a reflection of the fact that they were not normally worn when Benedict lived.

> But now in this time, since the behaviour of men is thus, it does not displease God if monks use breeches because of the blasphemy of incest which they can sample in nakedness of flesh, lest the naked in flesh, who might touch flesh, are reminded of carnal sins.[83]

She chose to conclude her commentary by reflecting on Benedict's precept that great care should be taken with children up to their 15th year. Before this age, they were still tender. At 15 they were like a tree coming

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[80] Ibid., p. 70.
[81] Ibid., pp. 76–77.
[82] Ibid., pp. 82–83.
[83] Ibid., pp. 88–89.

into bloom, and their marrow and blood were strengthened in such a way that they were more able to take discipline than before.[84]

Conclusion

When Hildegard moved with her nuns to Rupertsberg, she hoped to implement a new style of religious renewal from that which she had experienced at Disibodenberg. She had been brought up in an abbey that looked back to William of Hirsau as a great reformer of monasticism in Germany. Having being raised in a circle of women alongside a newly established monastic community, Hildegard owed much to the achievement of the Hirsau reform. At the same time, she was never fully at ease under the authority of its preeminent recluse, Jutta of Sponheim. Only in 1141 did she experience a moment of illumination and understanding of the Scriptures that transformed the manner in which she saw her role at Disibodenberg. When she engaged in correspondence with the abbot of Hirsau, as well as with other monks influenced by its traditions, Hildegard was perceived as injecting new life into a reform movement that was already beginning to ossify.[85] While she was not the first woman to report having experienced visions, she used the format of visionary experience to offer authority to her understanding, not just of the Bible, but of monastic experience as a means to grow in the full humanity of both body and spirit. Rather than emphasizing strict asceticism, as pursued by Jutta of Sponheim, she interpreted the Rule of Benedict as demonstrating a spirit of moderation in religious life.

Through her visions, Hildegard overcame the suspicions of many "who were astonished that so many mysteries should be revealed to an uneducated woman, when there existed so many strong and wise men."[86] She recalled that there had been many who doubted the legitimacy of her revelations. She benefited from the support offered to her by Bernard of Clairvaux at the Council of Trier in 1147/1148. She also enjoyed great honor

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[84] Ibid., p. 96.

[85] Hildegard's exchange with the abbot of Hirsau is the subject of an interpretative essay and edition by Lieven Van Acker and Hermann Josef Pretsch, "Der Briefwechsel des Benediktinerklosters St Peter und Paul in Hirsau mit Hildegard von Bingen. Eine Interpretationsversuch zu seiner kritischen Edition," in *Hirsau. St. Peter und Paul 1091–1991*, pt. 2, pp. 157–72.

[86] *V. Hild.*, 2.5: "Quid est hoc, quod huic stulte et indocte femine tot mysteria reuelantur, cum multi fortes ac sapientes uiri sint?" p. 28.

in the eyes of abbots and religious, many of whom belonged to monastic houses that were themselves shaped by the Hirsau reform. Hildegard never established a religious order in the manner of the Cistercians. Rather, she drew on the more flexible tradition of monastic reform as promoted by William of Hirsau, whereby different houses preserved their independence while operating within a network of shared friendships and loyalties. From an organizational perspective, the Cistercian Order would be much more successful than the Hirsau reform because it provided a relatively unified structure that transcended local loyalties. Hildegard could never have been part of such an organized vision of reformed monastic life. Nonetheless, she was free to communicate her vision of a reformed church without being accused of flouting Scripture. While it might have seemed unusual to her admirers for a woman to speak out publicly through her writing, Hildegard saw herself simply as giving voice to the Holy Spirit in urging people both inside and outside of the cloister not to spurn the life to which they were all called.

UNEQUAL TWINS: VISIONARY ATTITUDE AND MONASTIC CULTURE IN ELISABETH OF SCHÖNAU AND HILDEGARD OF BINGEN*

Felix Heinzer

In the Taunus Mountains north of Frankfurt, the days preceding Palm Sunday in the year 1153 must have been accompanied by diluvial rain, as we learn from the so-called *Liber Visionum* of the 12th-century Benedictine nun Elisabeth of Schönau.[1] We would rather expect to find such information in a chronicle or similar annalistic source, rather than in a book identified as a collection of visions—definitely not in a work of the temper of Hildegard's *Liber Scivias*. Yet this surprising detail, which could even arouse suspicion about a possible confusion of literary genres, should be perceived as a warning, keeping us from an overly homogeneous notion of the medieval concept of visionary experience. "Vision," obviously, can refer to different modes of "seeing" things beyond the borders of natural perception and to a wide range of different textual genres.[2]

Visualizing Monastic Liturgy

The *Liber Visionum* of Elisabeth of Schönau opens with a cycle of visionary records that are closely embedded in the life of the monastic community at Schönau, thus assuming a diary-like character, as the above-mentioned case of Palm Sunday witnesses, where Elisabeth presents herself as the narrator:

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* I am indebted to the participants of the October 2006 Medieval Studies Seminar at Harvard University for their critical comments on an initial presentation of this article's considerations, which in turn draw on two preliminary studies of mine: an article on Elisabeth of Schönau titled "Imaginierte Passion. Vision im Spannungsfeld zwischen liturgischer Matrix und religiöser Erfahrung bei Elisabeth von Schönau" in *Nova de Veteribus. Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt*, ed. Andreas Bihrer (Munich, 2005), pp. 463–76; and "Hildegard und ihr liturgisches Umfeld," an unpublished contribution to a symposium, organized in 1998 in Bingen under the leadership of Wulf Arlt (Basel), on the musical aspects of Hildegard's oeuvre.

[1] Elisabeth of Schönau, *Liber Visionum* 1, 44, in *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth und die Schriften der Äbte Ekbert und Emecho von Schönau*, ed. Friedrich W. Roth (Brünn, 1884), p. 23 (Latin text, see n. 4).

[2] See the important study by Barbara Newman, "What Did It Mean to Say 'I Saw'? The Clash between Theory and Practice in Medieval Visionary Culture," *Speculum* 80.1 (2005): 1–43.

> I had earnestly asked our brothers to celebrate the office of Palm Sunday that day in the meadow where we could see them. They were not able to do this because the brooks had flooded; instead, they conducted the service behind the church where we were not able to see it. And the Lord respected the desire of His handmaid, and with the eyes of my mind I saw everything that they did there.[3]

This short text offers paradigmatic insight into important features and conditions of this type of vision. The episode is narrated with remarkably scant sobriety and without any features of prophetic rhetoric. Arguing from the perspective of a more sophisticated and more spectacular concept of vision and visionary—and again, Hildegard is a good example of such an opposition—one might even hesitate at first glance to consider this kind of imaginary process as a "real" vision. What is related here is actually located in the horizon of a more general culture of visuality, since it appears to be an outflow of a strongly developed desire of seeing, in this case a kind of spiritual substitution for physical view. The ceremony, which Elisabeth is not able to observe because of bad meteorological circumstances, is shown to her inner eyes (*vidi oculis mentis omnia quae illic gesta sunt*).

Yet there is another, even more important aspect of this description that is absolutely symptomatic of the entire range of this early part of Elisabeth's visions: the immediate dependence on the celebration of liturgy, which lends this first cycle of visions, as Kurt Köster describes it, a character of being a "witness of ecstatic participation in the ecclesiastical year, intimately linked to monastic liturgy."[4]

A closer reading of the text shows an interesting switch of registers at the beginning of its last phrase. The formula *respexit dominus desiderium ancillae suae*, inserted rather abruptly at this point, is an obvious allusion to a biblical text, Mary's praise of the Lord's unexpected favor in the *Mag-*

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[3] *Liber Visionum* 1, 44, p. 23; "Rogaveram fratres nostros diligenter ut illo die officium Palmarum celebrarent in prato quod est ante conspectum nostrum, et non potuerunt propter inundationem rivulorum, sed retro ecclesiam ubi videri a nobis non poterat id peregerunt. Et respexit dominus desiderium ancillae suae (cf. Lk 1:48) et vidi oculis mentis omnia quae illic gesta sunt ab eis." For the English version of this and the following quotes from Elisabeth's writings, I gratefully make use of the translation by Anne L. Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 2000), p. 71.

[4] Kurt Köster, "Elisabeth von Schönau," in *Verfasserlexikon. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Berlin, 1980), pp. 489–94, here p. 490. See also Peter Dinzelbacher, "Die Offenbarungen der hl. Elisabeth von Schönau," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 97 (1986): 462–82, here 467–68.

nificat (*Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae*, Lk. 1:48), which indicates a deliberate theological upgrading of the related episode. This hint (among several others) of a literary intertext reminds us of the fundamental problem of the editorial reshaping, in its written form, of the visionary experience, a topic to which we will return later. In Elisabeth's case, this editorial process can be ascribed to her brother, Ekbert.[5] Persuaded by Elisabeth to abandon his brilliant career as a learned cleric for the sake of ascetic perfection as a monk, Ekbert joined his sister at Schönau in 1155 and quickly assumed an authoritative role of spiritual leadership for her.[6]

Ekbert's presence, as well as the mention of *fratres* in the text, alludes to an essential aspect of Elisabeth's historical situation.[7] Schönau is a double monastery of monks and nuns, following a widely observed tradition of German reform monasticism of the 11th and 12th centuries. This was especially true in the realm of the abbey of Hirsau in the northern Black Forest after its adoption of the Cluniac *consuetudo* in the 1080s, at which point the abbey became an important and widely influential center of Gregorian renewal.[8] Schönau (as well as Disibodenberg, where Hildegard of Bingen lived) was integrated into the Hirsau movement. Following the model of Cluny, Hirsau and its circle placed a significant—and, according to contemporary critics, even overwhelming—emphasis on the importance and dignity of the liturgy. Thus, if monastic life in general, in its capacity of spiritual and aesthetic creativity, is deeply marked by the experience of a lifelong performance of liturgical offices, especially through liturgical singing, then this appears to be even more the case in a Cluniac-influenced context, such as that of the Hirsau movement. This becomes of considerable interest for the issues I would like to discuss here. The detection of a common background shared by Elisabeth and Hildegard

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[5] For a general evaluation of Ekbert, see Kurt Köster, "Ekbert von Schönau," *Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Berlin, 1980), pp. 436–40.

[6] For more details, see Anne L. Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. A Twelfth-Century Visionary*, pp. 15–17 and 50–67.

[7] For the historical background, see Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Visionary*, pp. 11–27, and, more recently, Joachim Kemper, "Das benediktinische Doppelkloster Schönau und die Visionen Elisabeths von Schönau," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 54 (2002): 55–102.

[8] See Michel Parisse, "Doppelkloster," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 3 (1986): 1257–59; Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse, eds., *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1992). Especially regarding the double monasteries in the Hirsau movement, see Urban Küsters, "Formen und Modelle religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Umkreis der Hirsauer Reform des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Hirsau. St. Peter und Paul 1091–1991*, vol. 2, ed. Klaus Schreiner (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 195–220, and, of course, Kemper, "Das benediktinische Doppelkloster Schönau."

might allow us to sharpen the comparison between the two figures and to identify their specific attitudes toward their common monastic heritage, especially in relation to the liturgical frame of their spirituality. We possess very detailed knowledge about the liturgical repertory of Hirsau and its related establishments, down to the single chants and rubrics, thanks to a normative text, the so-called *Liber ordinarius*.[9]

As for Elisabeth herself, it is interesting to note how the liturgically oriented pattern of her visions underwent a substantial change, beginning in 1155 with the arrival of her brother at Schönau. We can observe a significant shift from a predominantly Christological focus, with a particular emphasis on the earthly career of the Savior, to a broader range of theological and ecclesiastical subjects. Elisabeth increasingly assumed the role of an oracle delivering visions on demand, as it were. The most notable were probably the revelations regarding St Ursula and her 11,000 virgin companions during the huge campaign of excavations organized in Cologne on the so-called "Ager Ursulanus" around 1160.[10]

Yet, the transition of 1155 is not only content related, it also implies a fundamental functional turn: while the addressee of the earlier visions was the visionary herself—it was she who wanted to see and to know for herself—the later revelations are mostly public messages to other people. This represents "more than a change in subject matter or spiritual concerns"; this dramatic shift can be called "a change of genre," as Anne L. Clark subtly states.[11] And this transition "from visionary diary to thematic collection of revelations,"[12] guided, as it were, by Ekbert, implied at the same time an alteration in Elisabeth's status: she sees herself increasingly in the role of a "divinely ordained preacher and prophet."[13]

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[9] Accessible through a couple of manuscripts, the oldest of which hails from the abbey of Rheinau near Schaffhausen, and published as the official liturgy of that house by Anton Hänggi, ed., *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius*, Spicilegium Friburgense 1 (Freiburg, 1957). However, Hänggi's edition can be used (with some methodological caveats with regard to local additions) as a reference point for the Hirsau tradition itself, as I have been able to demonstrate in my article, "Der Hirsauer Liber Ordinarius," *Revue Bénédictine* 102 (1992): 309–47 (reprinted in: Felix Heinzer, *Monastische Reform und Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 185–223), and as I do in this chapter.

[10] Wilhelm Levison, "Das Werden der Ursula-Legende," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 132 (1927): 115. See also Peter Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 178–79 and 194–95; Dinzelbacher, "Die Offenbarungen," pp. 473–74; Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Visionary*, pp. 37–40.

[11] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Visionary*, p. 17.

[12] Ibid., p. 37.

[13] Ibid., p. 93.

In this study, however, I shall focus on the earlier, systematically liturgy-based type of vision, hitherto largely disregarded by modern scholars (and to some extent even by Clark), because to my mind this kind of visionary experience is of great and far-reaching interest. The case of the Palm Sunday procession, presented at the beginning of this essay, is symptomatic of this attitude. The matrix of this kind of visionary experience is constituted by monastic community life, and more particularly by monastic liturgy. Yet—and this is of fundamental importance—its final object is never the liturgical ceremony as such, but the spiritual participation in the mystery represented by the rite: here, the Savior's entrance into Jerusalem, which the strongly mimetic procession of this feast commemorates and actualizes.[14]

The dynamics of this interaction between vision and liturgy can be illustrated by following Elisabeth on her itinerary through the Passion Week. The visions are regularly inspired by a passage from a liturgical chant. The starting point—the evening before Palm Sunday, with the celebration of the feast's vespers—is particularly instructive, since the launching moment of the visionary actualization of this liturgical moment can be linked to a specific phrase within a chant, the extended, dialogically structured responsory, *Ingressus Pilatus*.[15] Here, Elisabeth stands between the sisters (*stabam inter eas*) and sings the office with them, as we may assume; precisely at the moment the responsory reaches its emotional climax at the word *crucifigatur*, which refers to the mob's scandalized shouting and demanding the execution of Jesus on the cross, Elisabeth falls into a violent ecstasy (*in exstasim cecidi cum magna corporis mei concussione*) and is granted the vision of the Savior hanging on the cross (*et vidi salvatorem quasi in cruce pendentem*).[16]

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[14] For general aspects of the liturgy of this feast, see Hermann J. Gräf, *Palmenweihe und Palmenprozession in der lateinischen Liturgie* (St Augustin bei Bonn, 1959).

[15] CAO 6966, "Ingressus Pilatus cum Jesu in praetorium, tunc ait illi: Tu es rex Judaeorum? Respondit: Tu dicis quia Rex sum. Exivit ergo Jesus de praetorio, portans coronam et vestem purpuream. Et cum indutus fuisset, exclamaverunt omnes: Crucifigatur quia Filium Dei se fecit. V. Tunc ait illis Pilatus: Regem vestrum crucifigam? Responderunt ponifices: Regem non habemus nisi Caesarem.—Et cum . . ." For the place of this chant during first vespers of Palm Sunday in the context of the Hirsau liturgy, see Hänggi, *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius*, p. 108, l. 26.

[16] *Liber Visionum* 1, p. 43; Roth, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth*, p. 22: "Post haec in festivitate Palmarum in priori vespera, cum dicerent sorores responsorium Ingressus Pilatus et usque ad hoc verbum processissent crucifigatur, stabam inter eas, et in exstasim cecidi cum magna corporis mei concussione, et vidi salvatorem quasi in cruce pendentem."

If liturgical chants often act as the initial stimuli for visions, they also can serve as places that bring the visionary back into the realm of normal sensations and consciousness, as the preface to the *Liber Visionum* relates, when Elisabeth is said to have uttered biblical phrases or liturgical texts frequently in such moments. This is akin to the matters she had dealt with before in her visionary state and is said to have happened spontaneously.[17]

A typical example of this situation is the great vision of crucifixion on the afternoon of Good Friday. Here, Elisabeth sees Christ's body being laid in the tomb, while this moment of the passion is scenically represented in the liturgical rite of the *depositio* concluding the Mass of the day:

> Finally, however, coming into ecstasy, I again saw the Lord on the cross, and then in that hour He gave up His spirit . . . Certain men came and unfastened the body from the cross, and carried it with great veneration to a green and pleasant garden. They wrapped the body in a clean shroud and placed it in a tomb. Then at last, having regained my spirit, with bitter weeping I seized this lament: 'Our shepherd, the fount of living water, has departed; at his death the sun was darkened' et cetera. And I added, 'Hail Mary, partner of the martyrs when you were stabbed with the blood of your crucified child'. And I continued, 'When the Lord was interred, the tomb was sealed' et cetera.[18]

The texts Elisabeth is said to have recited after her ecstasy (*resumpto spiritu*), i.e. *Recessit pastor* and *Sepulto domino*, are no casual quotations, but correspond exactly to two of the chants prescribed by the Hirsau Ordinary for the ritual *depositio* ceremony,[19] while the short invocation *Ave*

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[17] Roth, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth*, p. 2: "Sepius etiam canonice scripture testimonia. aliaque divinarum laudum verba congruentia his quae per spiritum viderat absque omni premeditatione."

[18] English translation from Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Works*, p. 74. *Liber Visionum* 1, p. 48; Roth, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth*, p. 24: "Tandem autem in exstasim veniens, vidi iterum dominum in cruce, iamque in illa hora emisit spiritum . . . quidam viri accedentes solverunt corpus a cruce et detulerunt illud cum veneratione in hortum quendam viridem et iocundum, et circumposita ei munda sindone, locaverunt illud in monumento. Tunc demum ego, resumpto spiritu, cum fletu amarissimo huiusmodi querelam arripui: 'Recessit pastor noster, fons aque viva, in cuius transitu sol obscuratus est' et cetera. Et adjeci: 'Ave Maria, consors martyrum, transgladiata crucifixi nati sanguine." Et adieci: 'Sepulto domino, signatum est monumentum' et cetera."

[19] See Hänggi, *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius*, p. 132, ll. 8–12: "Duo ex ipsis ordine priores portant crucem quos alii tres cum turibulo et candelabris praecedunt, sacerdote hebdomadario et armario illos comitantibus, simulque cum eis suppressa voce cantantibus R. Ecce quomodo moritur, R. Recessit Pastor, Ant. Ioseph ab Arimathia, Ant. Sepulto domino."

Maria consors martyrum inserted between the two liturgical pieces, which obviously recalls the prophecy of the sword piercing through Mary's soul (Lk. 2:35), is taken from a litany-like prayer to the Virgin ascribed to Ekbert of Schönau[20]—another proof of the influence of Elisabeth's brother on the spirituality of his sister, if not a rather clear signal of his editorial intervention.

This example highlights another important aspect: Elisabeth's reference to the *depositio* chants attests a peculiar affinity of her visionary imagination for dramatically accentuated moments of liturgical celebration. This is not the only case. On Holy Friday morning, for instance, waking up from a long ecstasy, Elisabeth comes ashore from her vision of the Lord as man of sorrows by means of reciting the two verses *Christus dominus factus est obediens* and *Vita in ligno moritur*:

> In the morning, at the third hour . . . I came into ecstasy in which I remained until the sixth hour. Then I saw how they were dressing the Lord in a purple garment and wrapping Him in a scarlet mantle, and, placing a thorny crown on His head, they mocked Him. Then they stripped Him of those garments, dressed Him in His own clothes, laid the cross upon Him, and led Him outside the city into a certain place that looked plowed but without verdure. There, they stripped Him, raised Him up on the cross, and fastened Him to it. They did the same to two others. Then I awoke and with copious tears burst into these words, 'Christ the Lord was made obedient unto death' (Phil 2:8). And I added: 'Life dies on the wood; hell is robbed of its sting.'[21]

Both of these texts are taken from the very suggestive *Tenebrae* rite that follows the singing of lauds on Maundy Thursday and ends, in complete darkness, with a dialogue between the community and two singers

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[20] Friedrich W. Roth, *Das Gebetbuch der hl. Elisabeth von Schönau* (Augsburg, 1886), p. 14; with the version *Ave martyr cum martyribus transgladiata filii morte* appearing a second time toward the end of the manuscript, at this point with the rubric *Salutacio E.*[kberti] *ad S. Mariam*; see Roth, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth*, p. 286.

[21] English translation from Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Works*, p. 73. *Liber Visionum* 1, p. 47; Roth, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth*, p. 24: "Mane autem hora tertia veni in exstasim in qua permansi usque circa horam sextam. Tunc vidi, quomodo induerunt eum tunicam purpuream, et chlamidem coccineam circumdederunt ei, et imponentes capiti eius coronam spineam, illuserunt ei. Et post haec, exeuntes cum vestimentis illis induerunt eum vestibus et imposuerunt ei crucem et duxerunt extra civitatem in locum quemdam, quasi aratum, et nihil viroris habentem. Ibi eum denudantes levaverunt in crucem et affixerunt. Similiter et aliis duobus fecerunt. Tunc expergefacta sum et cum lacrymis uberrimis in haec verba prorupi: 'Christus dominus factus est obediens usque ad mortem.' Et adieci: 'Vita in ligno moritur, infernus ex morsu dispoliatur.'"

standing behind the high altar. The extinguishing of the candles simulates the arrest of Christ and his abandonment by the fleeing apostles.[22]

Other instances are evident in relation to the Palm Sunday procession, as well as the ceremony of washing the feet in the chapter hall on the evening of Maundy Thursday, the so-called *mandatum*, which triggers a vision of Christ Himself washing the feet of his apostles as proof of his humility and love.[23] Even the aforementioned responsory, *Ingressus Pilatus*, although it does not belong to a dramatized liturgical ceremony, might be noted here again, since it is in itself dramatically structured.

Liturgical rituals not accompanied by texts or chants—purely action-based moments, so to speak—are also departure points for visions, but only rarely. One of the few examples occurs during the Maundy Thursday Mass, where the elevation of the chalice at the end of the *Canon Missae*[24] prompts a vision of the Savior hanging on the cross with his blood pouring into the chalice from his wounded side and feet:

> After this, at Mass on Holy Thursday, I saw—as I usually did—everything that was being done at the altar, and when the priest said the canon and raised the chalice to the sight of God, I saw the Lord Jesus as if hanging on the cross above the chalice and blood from His side and His feet seemed to flow down into it.[25]

This case is of multiple interest, for not only does it recall—albeit in another register of visuality, and in advance of later developments—the iconographic program of the famous "Mass of Saint Gregory," with its

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[22] Hänggi, *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius*, p. 115, ll. 21–32: "per custodes ecclesie omnia lumina extinguuntur . . . absque sonitu duo fratres retro principale altare versi in chorum cantant . . . Ad quartum vero versiculum, id est V (CAO 8449) 'Vita in ligno moritur infernus ex morsu despoliatur' sine Kyrie eleyson subiungit (CAO 8443) 'Christus dominus factus est obediens usque ad mortem.'"

[23] *Liber Visionum* 1, p. 46; Roth, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth*, p. 23.

[24] According to Peter Browne, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1933; 2nd ed., Rome, 1967), pp. 41–42, this rite is not to be confused with the elevation of the chalice following the rite of consecration, which is introduced only towards the end of the 12th century and then only in France, from whence it spread. For different aspects of piety related to such liturgical elevation, see Browne, pp. 49–69; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 49–82; and Hans-Bernhard Meyer, *Eucharistie. Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, Gottesdienst der Kirche 4 (Regensburg, 1989), pp. 165–66 and 178.

[25] English translation from Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Works*, pp. 71–72. *Liber Visionum* 1, p. 45; Roth, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth*, p. 23: "Post haec in cena domini ad missam vidi, sicut soleo, omnia quae circa altare gerebantur, et dum sacerdos canonem diceret et calicem in conspectu dei exaltaret vidi supra calicem dominum Jesum quasi in cruce opendentem, et de latere eius et pedibus sanguis in calicem defluere."

amazing popularity starting at the end of the 14th century,[26] but it also constitutes a case of substituting "sacramental viewing."[27] Furthermore, it foreshadows exceptional experiences of mystical communion with Christ's body, such as those reported in some chapters of the 14th-century Dominican *Schwesternbücher*.[28] Besides such extraordinary similes, Elisabeth's chalice vision leads to a more general consideration: the necessity to contextualize the *Liber Visionum*, especially the first layer under discussion here, within a more general current—that of late medieval visual piety.[29] Yet it is remarkable that physical images, i.e. paintings, statues, or miniatures, never occur as triggers for Elisabeth's visions and ecstasies: "not even one of them happened in front of a material image of the Virgin or the Crucifix."[30] Instead, they primarily originate within the liturgy and specifically in association with liturgical texts—more precisely, from liturgical chants—which act as substitutes for images and their stimulating function of spiritual imagination.

If it is indeed the chanted word, as opposed to the written or spoken one, that functions as a starting point for Elisabeth, this appears highly suggestive of two significant points.

The first is the importance of musical heightening of the texts. Around 1100, John of Afflighem speaks of the *potentia musicae in commovendis mentibus hominum*, an idea fostered by the medieval theory of music as early as the late-Carolingian *Musica enchiriadis*, as Fritz Reckow underscored in a magisterial article on this topic.[31] A musically enhanced text

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[26] See Andreas Gormanns and Thomas Lentes, eds., *Das Bild der Erscheinung. Die Gregorsmesse im Mittelalter*, KultBild 3 (Berlin, 2007).

[27] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 63.

[28] A typical case is that of a nun of St Katharinenthal visited at her sickbed by Christ himself in the guise of a priest who puts in her mouth a piece of flesh ripped out of his hand and tells her: "this is my flesh and my blood" (*. . . der sass nider zu ir fur das bett und brach ein fleischli uss siner hant und gab ir das in ir mund und sprach zu ir: dis ist mein fleisch und mein blut*). See Ruth Meyer, *Das St. Katharinentaler Schwesternbuch. Untersuchung, Edition, Kommentar*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 104 (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 105 and 198–99; and Caroline W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), p. 123.

[29] See the works of Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary. Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998); and David Morgan, *Visual Piety. A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley, 1999).

[30] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La culture de l'Imago," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 51 (1996): 3–36, here 25–26.

[31] Fritz Reckow, "Zwischen Ontologie und Rhetorik. Die Idee des *movere animos* und der Übergang vom Spätmittelalter zur frühen Neuzeit in der Musikgeschichte," in *Traditionswandel und Traditionsverhalten*, eds. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger (Tübingen,

thus appears privileged in a competition with an image, and even more so than the naked word!

The monastic context of the music appears as the second point of significance. While the vision itself is a personal experience, singing liturgical chants is not an individual exercise, but rather a joint and regular performance of a community involving aspects of rituality, hence solemnity and repetitiveness. Elisabeth actively participates in the liturgy of her monastery for years and years: a continuous and, as the medieval writers would say, "ruminating" performance of text and music, which is in itself the fundamental condition for the type of vision we have dealt with in this first part of our study.[32]

Echoing Heavenly Liturgy

Although points of contact between Elisabeth of Schönau and Hildegard of Bingen have been outlined frequently,[33] one aspect has attracted relatively little attention: their common roots in the monastic reform movement of the 11th and 12th centuries, more precisely in the current of Hirsau. This is especially the case for Hildegard. As already mentioned, Disibodenberg near Kreuznach, the place where Hildegard began her religious career, was originally (like Schönau) a double monastery of the Hirsau movement. Scholars have demonstrated that Hildegard belonged to a small group of women at Disibodenberg living under the spiritual leadership of the former hermit Jutta of Sponheim.[34] This group most probably followed the Benedictine rule and observed, as Jutta's bibliography underlines, the celebration of the *regularis cursus*, i.e. the liturgical office. In addition, recent scholarship has documented Disibodenberg's incorporation within the sphere of Gregorian reform after the reorganization of 1108; this was the year in which Archbishop Ruthard, a strong partisan of this current, replaced the canons who had lived on the mountain with Benedictine monks from the Hirsau-oriented monastery of St James in Mainz.[35]

1991), pp. 145–78: p. 157, note 39. See also Anders Ekenberg, *Cur cantatur? Die Funktionen des liturgischen Gesangs nach den Autoren der Karolingerzeit* (Stockholm, 1987), pp. 178–88.

[32] See Carolyn Muessig, "Prophecy and Song: Teaching and Preaching by Medieval Women," in *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Kienzle and Pamela Walker (Berkeley, 1998), pp. 146–58.

[33] For instance, by Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Visionary*, pp. 21–25.

[34] See Franz Felten's essays in this volume, pp. 15–38, 39–56.

[35] Franz Staab, "Reform und Reformgruppen im Erzbistum Mainz. Vom 'Libellus de Willigisi consuetudinibus' zur 'Vita domnae Juttae inclusae,'" in *Reformidee und Reformpolitik*

An important confirmation of Disibodenberg's affinity to Hirsau is furnished by a late 12th-century liturgical source: a manuscript definitely written to be used for the celebration of the monastic office at Disibodenberg, now conserved in the Swiss abbey of Engelberg as Ms. 103.[36] Its main text, an antiphonary with a diastematic notation (fols 73v–171v), clearly demonstrates its affinity to the Hirsau liturgy, as shown by a comparison with the *Liber ordinarius* and the evidence of some very distinctive fingerprints from the Hirsau repertory. A few examples from the manuscript should suffice as demonstrative of its affiliation with Hirsau: it contains, among others, the office *Venerabilis Gallus* for the patron saint of St Gall (fols 148r–149v), received at Hirsau and circulated beyond the borders of the initial cult area through the far-reaching reform movement;[37] a series of antiphons for lauds for the Feast of the Annunciation (*Quando venit plenitudo temporis* etc.), mostly consisting of hymn strophes (fol. 107r);[38] and quotations of *incipit*s from the characteristic Hirsau hymns "Christe fili Jesu," for the feast of St Benedict (fol. 105r), and "Hic est vere christicola," for the *commune confessorum* (fol. 161r).[39] Even the fragmentary hymnary (fols 174r–175v), of scant expressiveness since it breaks off in the midst of the Christmas hymn "A solis ortu," shows a typical Hirsau feature, i.e. the triad *Dei fide, Qua Christus hora*, and *Ternis ter horis*, which

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im spätsalisch-frühstaufischen Reich, ed. Stefan Weinfurter, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 68 (Mainz, 1992), pp. 119–87, here 158 and 179; Franz Josef Felten, "Hildegard von Bingen zwischen Reformaufbruch und Bewahrung des Althergebrachten. Mit einem Exkurs über das Leben der Reformbenediktinerinnen auf dem Disibodenberg," in *Spiritualität im Europa des Mittelalters. L'Europe spirituelle au Moyen Age*, eds. Jean Ferrari and Stephan Grätzel (St Augustin bei Bonn, 1998), pp. 123–49; Franz Josef Felten, "'Noui esse uolunt . . . deserentes bene contritam uiam. . .'. Hildegard von Bingen und Reformbewegungen im religiösen Leben ihrer Zeit," in *Angesicht*, pp. 27–86.

[36] The manuscript was brought to the attention of scholars by Ephrem Omlin, "Das ältere Engelberger Osterspiel und der Cod. 103 der Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg," in *Corolla Heremitana: Neue Beiträge zur Kunst und Geschichte Einsiedelns und der Innerschweiz*, eds. Albert Knoepfli, P. Maximilian Roesle and Alfred A. Schmid (Olten, 1964), pp. 101–26.

[37] See Kathrin Schulze, "Das Gallusoffizium. Untersuchungen und Edition" (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Philos. Fakultät I/II, Magisterarbeit: unpublished M.A. thesis, 1994).

[38] Antiphons 1 and 3–5 are taken from the hymns "Pangue lingua gloriosi" (AH 50 nº 66) and "A solis ortus cardine" (AH 50 nº 53), to compare with Hänggi, *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius*, p. 92 (critical apparatus to ll. 20–21).

[39] See my study, "Liturgischer Hymnus und monastische Reform—Zur Rekonstruktion des Hirsauer Hymnars," in *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter. Überlieferung, Ästhetik, Ausstrahlung*, eds. Andreas Haug et al., Monumenta Medii Aevi Monodica Subsidia 4 (Kassel, 2004), pp. 23–52, here 42–49.

Hirsau borrowed from Cluny, appears here in a series of common hymns for Terce, Sext, and None (fol. 174v).[40]

As with almost every liturgical manuscript stemming from the Hirsau movement, the Engelberg (alias Disiboden) Antiphonary displays interesting additions to the repertory fixed by the *Liber ordinarius*.[41] Due to space constraints, we must forego a detailed presentation of these complements (mostly versified offices)[42] and simply note that the majority have parallels in manuscripts extant from houses dependent upon Hirsau.

These observations are of considerable importance for contextualizing Hildegard, and at the same time for carving out differences between herself and Elisabeth. Like her Schönau counterpart, Hildegard was originally shaped by the traditions of Hirsau reform monasticism. Although she left Disibodenberg with her nuns around 1148–1150 and went to Rupertsberg near Bingen, where she lived with her community in a more or less independent situation,[43] she did not completely break with the monks of Disibodenberg. Even her eventual contact with the Trier abbey of Sts Eucharius and Matthias failed to change her monastic orientation, since this monastery was also well established within the Hirsau movement[44]

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[40] For this group, see Heinzer, "Liturgischer Hymnus und monastische Reform," pp. 37–38.

[41] This tolerance with respect to local or regional traditions is a typical feature of the flexibility of the Hirsau movement. See Felix Heinzer, "Musik und Liturgie zwischen Reform und Repräsentation. Ein Graduale-Sequentiar des frühen 13. Jh. aus der schwäbischen Abtei Weingarten (A-Wkm 4981)," in *Wiener Quellen der älteren Musikgeschichte zum Sprechen gebracht. Eine Ringvorlesung*, ed. Birgit Lodes, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 1 (Tutzing, 2007), pp. 113–36, here 120–21.

[42] These offices include, by way of example, the "Gaude mater ecclesia" (AH 5 n° 12) for *Conceptio Mariae* (fols 76r–77v), also in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. LX (from Zwiefalten) and as an addition to the *Liber ordinarius*, Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 59 (from Rheinau, cf. Hänggi, *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius*, LIV and pp. 256–57), or the typical reform office for Benedict, "Praeclarum late" (AH 25 n° 25) for St Benedict (fols 105r–106r).

[43] A possible background aspect—aside from Hildegard's emancipatory aspirations—could also be seen in the interdiction of common office celebration by monks and nuns in one and the same choir by the Second Lateran Council in 1139 (Concilium Lateranense II, c. 27: *prohibemus, ne sanctimoniales simul cum canonicis vel monacis in ecclesia in uno choro conveniant ad psallendum*. Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *Decreta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973), p. 179; compare also Felten, "Hildegard von Bingen zwischen Reformaufbruch und Bewahrung des Althergebrachten," p. 145.

[44] Petrus Becker, "Der eigentliche Anlaß und auch der geistliche Anstoß zum hochmittelalterlichen Aufstieg von St. Eucharius . . . war die hirsauische Erneuerung des Klosters durch die Initiative Erzbischofs Bruno von Lauffen (1102–1124)" [The actual inducement and also the spiritual impetus for the advancement of St Eucharius during the High Middle Ages . . . was the Hirsau Reform of the monastery due to the initiative of Archbishop Bruno

and shared its liturgical customs.[45] The conclusion is obvious: the liturgical practice that marked Hildegard's monastic life throughout was fundamentally identical to that of Elisabeth.

That is why it is all the more interesting to observe a complete lack of influence exerted by institutional liturgy on Hildegard's visionary experience, in contrast with Elisabeth; on the other hand, the liturgically labeled chants in Hildegard's writings do not appear to have any echo in the context of regular liturgical practice.

In regard to this second point, the Disibodenberg antiphonary (which on paleographical grounds should be dated to after Hildegard's death in 1179) is obviously of considerable interest. The manuscript shows no trace at all of any of Hildegard's "liturgical" compositions, not even—and this seems particularly remarkable—of the antiphons and responsories for the abbey's patron saint Disibod (*O mirum admirandum*, etc.),[46] which Hildegard, as her epistolary tells us, had created explicitly for her former house at Abbot Kuno's special request.[47] Lieven Van Acker has produced evidence that these texts could be a later interpolation: in the oldest layer of the manuscript tradition, they appear only *in margine*.[48] Thus, there is no documentary proof that they were ever used in the official liturgy of Hildegard's former monastery. The same holds true for Hildegard's works commissioned by the abbey of Sts Eucharius and Matthias in Trier: these

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von Lauffen (1102–1124)], *Die Benediktinerabtei St. Eucharius-St. Matthias vor Trier*, Germania Sacra NF 34 (Berlin, 1996), p. 250.

[45] Becker, *Die Benediktinerabtei*, p. 402.

[46] In the Engelberg manuscript, Disibod's feast is provided with an octave, a clear hint as to his status as patron saint of Disibodenberg, as stated by Omlin, "Das ältere Engelberger Osterspiel und der Cod. 103 der Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg," p. 120. Omlin's observation can be complemented by the evidence of the litany of the saints (fols 71r–72v), which can be considered as an expanded form of the Hirsau standard (discussed in Heinzer, "Der Hirsauer Liber Ordinarius," pp. 325–30) and in which Disibod appears exactly at the place traditionally reserved for the former Hirsau patron saint, Aurelius. Whereas Hirsau lists: Gregori, Hilari, Martine, *Aureli*, Ambrosi, Augustine; Engelberg provides: Gregori, Hilari, Martine (double invocation), *Disibode*, Ambrosi, Augustine (emphasis added). The double invocation of Martin, as well as the preferential treatment of the saint in the corpus of the antiphonary, might indicate an—elder?—patrocinium of Martin at Disibodenberg. Regarding the intriguing question of Disibodenberg's patron saint(s) in the 12th century, see Omlin, "Das ältere Engelberger Osterspiel und der Cod. 103 der Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg," pp. 120–21. On Hildegard's chants in honor of Disibod, see *Symph.* (Eng.), pp. 180–88.

[47] *Epistolarium*, II, 74 and 74R, pp. 160–62. This episode recalls Elisabeth's involvement in the "commission" of visionary information about names and kinship ties of the members of St Ursula's entourage (see p. 88 and note 10).

[48] Lieven Van Acker, "Der Briefwechsel der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen. Vorbemerkungen zu einer kritischen Edition," *Revue Bénédictine* 98 (1988): 141–68, esp. 162.

items do not appear in the abbey's liturgical books.[49] It is interesting to compare the traditional office for the saint's feast, probably a creation of Abbot Remigius of Mettlach (†1095),[50] with Hildegard's Eucharius song, the responsory *O Euchari columba*.[51] The contrast between the two is absolutely striking: the narrative structure of Remigius' office closely follows—at times even literally quoting—the *vita* of its hero[52] in the style of a classical medieval *historia*,[53] and differs starkly from the hymnic gesture of *O Euchari columba*, which is devoid of any reference to the saint's life and passion. This represents a cultural clash between two completely different conceptions of liturgical poetry, and it leaves little doubt as to why Hildegard's song did not penetrate into the traditional office and crack its firmly established unity of content and form.

If this were the situation (as was very likely), then the reception of such pieces during Hildegard's lifetime would have been restricted exclusively to the immediate realm of her charismatic authority and leadership, i.e. to her own community of Rupertsberg. What, then, about the role of these and other "liturgical" creations by Hildegard within her own nunnery? Barbara Newman's assertion that Hildegard "intended her music for Mass and the Divine Office at her monastery"[54] is difficult to prove, since there are no liturgical manuscripts extant from Bingen.

There is, however, an often-discussed testimony that seems to plead in favor of a liturgical use of Hildegard's unorthodox creations by her community: the statement by her secretary and intimate confidant, Guibert of Gembloux, in his Epistola XVIII, probably written in 1175; speaking of Hildegard in the third person, he writes:

> Hence, when she [that is, Hildegard] returns to normal conversation with men from that musical consonance she hears inside, on feast days, thinking of God and remembering all such things, she enjoys the frequent resonance of the sweet melodies of the songs she hears and retains in spiritual harmony, and she wants these melodies which are more beautiful than what

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[49] Becker, *Die Benediktinerabtei*, pp. 402–03.

[50] Anselm Rosenthal, "Das Fest des hl. Eucharius in der Benediktinerabtei St. Matthias/Trier um das Jahr 1500," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 34 (1982): 97–120.

[51] *Symph.* (Eng.), p. 206, canto 52.

[52] Rosenthal (see note 50), pp. 110–14, shows this very ostensively in his edition of the office by a synoptic presentation of the two texts.

[53] See Ritva Jonsson, *Historia. Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 15 (Stockholm, 1968); Joachim Knape, "Zur Benennung der Offizien im Mittelalter. Das Wort 'historia' als liturgischer Begriff," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 26 (1984): 305–20.

[54] *Symph.* (Eng.), p. 12.

> common musical competence of men is able to realize, to be sung publicly in the church, associated with texts composed in honour of God and the Saints. Who has ever heard similar things of another woman?[55]

One point must be discussed in relation to earlier interpretations of this famous (and difficult) text. The expression *Communi instrumento* is to be read as an ablative of comparison, depending on *gratiores* (similar to constructions such as *melle dulcior*, *luce clarior*, etc.), and should not be misunderstood (as often claimed by earlier scholarship) as evidence that the songs were provided with accompaniment by musical instruments common to the period. It should be read as a type of antonym to the supernatural qualities of the melodies that Hildegard hears and retains in her visions: melodies of heavenly origins, and therefore of a beauty that exceeds human musical competence. The text thus establishes an opposition between the heavenly sphere, accessible to the visionary at least for a moment, and the earthly world, represented by the two parallel elements: *communis hominum conversatio* and *commune humanae musicae instrumentum.*

If, on the basis of a close reading of this text, the idea of an instrumental accompaniment of Hildegard's chants may be revealed to be a myth,[56] what about the performance of her creations in general? The expression *in ecclesia publice decantari facit* appears to be clear and unequivocal, and the same seems to hold true for the famous controversy between Hildegard and Tenxwind of Andernach: in the latter's criticism of supposed extravagances of liturgical practice in the Bingen community,[57] she also

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[55] "Inde est quod ad communem hominum conversationem ab illa interni concentus melodia regrediens, dulces in vocum etiam sono modos, quos in spiritali harmonia discit et retinet, memor Dei, et in reliquiis cogitationum huiusmodi diem festum agens, sepius resultando delectatur, eosdemque modulos, communi humanae musicae instrumento gratiores, prosis ad laudem Dei et sanctorum honorem compositis, in ecclesia publice decantari facit. Quis similia his umquam de alia quavis femina audivit?" Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae*, ed. Albert Derolez, CCCM 66 (Turnhout, 1988), p. 231. See also *Symph.* (Eng.), p. 12; and Michael Klaper, "Kommentar," in *Hildegard von Bingen, Lieder. Faksimile Riesencodex [Hs. 2] der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden fol. 466–48rv*, ed. Lorenz Welker (Wiesbaden, 1998), p. 6.

[56] Another notable detail, the expression *prosis . . . compositis*, does not concern the problem of the function of Hildegard's songs but rather the interesting issue of her "composing technique," especially the relationship between music and text. Guibert may have had in mind a scenario that allowed for an addition of (subsequently created?) texts to the melodies Hildegard hears in her visions—a situation that even terminologically matches the process of underlaying texts (*prosae* or *prosulae*) to sequence melodies or other kinds of chant melismas.

[57] See Alfred Haverkamp, "Tenxwind von Andernach und Hildegard von Bingen: zwei Weltanschauungen in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Institutionen, Kultur und*

uses the phrasing *in ecclesia*.[58] These expressions have been considered as chief witnesses for liturgical performance of Hildegard's creations. John Stevens, however, proposed a more differentiated understanding of the term *in ecclesia*, at least with regard to Tenxwind's letter: "It is significant, that Tenxwind . . . does not speak of the nuns singing *in choro* ("in choir"), the proper place to sing the office or Mass, but uses the phrase *in ecclesiae*, i.e. elsewhere in the church."[59] Hence, while the choir would remain the locus of the official liturgy, the nave of the abbey-church might be considered as a less regulated space, and therefore open to non-canonical forms of sacred music and representation. This appears to be an attempt to "save" the possibility that Hildegard's chants were performed in worship, outside the traditional liturgical service. Whether this interesting idea can be maintained is open to further critical discussion. One might generally think of less regulated spaces and moments of liturgical practice of a monastery as, for example, the broadly developed practice of monastic processions on Sundays and feast days,[60] where, following the ritual circulation through the buildings of the monastery, the nuns of the community were to sing an antiphon in honor of their patron saint—*in chorum de patrono*, as the *Liber ordinarius* repeats again and again—as they processed back to the choir of the church. This is actually a kind of "blank space" for individual practice, as, for instance, Raffaella Camilot-Oswald was able to show for the repertory of the 12th-century processional manuscript Clm 13125, from the Hirsau-dependent monastery of St George at Prüfening near Regensburg. This text corresponds precisely throughout to the Hirsau ordinary, with one exception: it includes the only locally known "Inclite Christi martyr Georgi," probably created at Prüfening and serving as *de patrono* chant in the aforementioned Sunday and feast day processions.[61]

Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, eds. Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener, and Thomas Zotz (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 515–48.

[58] *Epistolarium*, I, 52, p. 126, l. 14.

[59] John Stevens, "The Musical Individuality of Hildegard's Songs," in *Context*, pp. 163–88, here 172, note 5.

[60] Omlin, "Das ältere Engelberger Osterspiel und der Cod. 103 der Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg," p. 102, already underlined the important status of processions, especially in the milieu of the Cluniac reform. See also Walter von Arx, *Das Klosterrituale von Biburg (Budapest, Cod. lat. m. ae. Nr. 330, 12. Jh)*, Spicilegium Friburgense 14 (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1970), pp. 80–81.

[61] Raffaella Camilot-Oswald, *Quellen liturgischer Musik aus dem mittelalterlichen Regensburg. Katalog der Handschriften und Handschriftenfragmente*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi. Subsidia (Kassel, forthcoming). I warmly thank Raffaella Camilot-Oswald for her kindness in informing me about the results of her research in advance of publication.

Could we imagine a similar use for Hildegard's isolated chants in honor of Disibod, Rupert, Eucharius, Matthias, and Boniface at Rupertsberg and in other monasteries that were in close contact with her?[62]

This remains an open issue. Yet, even more interesting than the debate concerning whether some of Hildegard's visionary creations made the transition to liturgical acceptability is the reverse question about the liturgical preconditions of her visions.

There is indeed such a claim in Hildegard's writings, and even a very proud one, but it hints at a diametrically different perspective compared with what we have seen in the case of Elisabeth of Schönau. As an absolute key text for this pretension we can quote the introduction to *Scivias* 3.13 that precedes the seven chants in honor of the highest ranks of celestial hierarchy, i.e. Mary, the angels, and the different grades of saints, mostly rubricated as antiphons or responsories (albeit with no consistent use of the terminology and the structural principles of these liturgical genres). At the end of this introductory part, Hildegard presents this collection of songs as having been produced by the heavenly "sound" (*sonus*) she perceived in her ecstasy: "And that sound, like the voice of a multitude singing in harmony in praise of the highest (celestial) ranks, spoke as follows: 'O overshining gem' etc."[63]

As an offshoot of visionary inspiration, these songs should thus be of totally different style and quality compared with established liturgical chants—and indeed they are. Traditional liturgical texts, at least those from the complex known as the Gregorian repertory, were taken primarily from the Bible, and are thus considered to be of divine inspiration (which did not, however, include their melodies). Later layers of liturgical poetry, such as tropes, sequences, versified offices, etc., which are clearly products of individual artistic efforts, are obviously situated outside this realm. This lack of divinely inspired quality, which first found expression at the Synod of Meaux in 845 and appeared regularly in later periods of ecclesiastical reform, could easily be considered as a hindrance to

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[62] Stevens, "The Musical Individuality of Hildegard's Songs," has also proposed the hypothesis that these chants were used as votive antiphons (see note 59), pp. 173–74. Regarding the fluctuating terminology used for processional chants (antiphon vs. responsory), see Edward Nowacki, "Antiphon," in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Kassel, 1994), pp. 657–58.

[63] *Scivias* 3, p. 615: "Et sonus ille, ut vox multitudinis in laudibus de supernis gradibus in harmonia symphonizans, sic dicebat: O splendidissima gemma . . ." My translation follows *Symph.* (Eng.), pp. 7–8.

canonical acceptability.[64] With regard to the antiphons and responsories transmitted in *Scivias*, Hildegard, in a certain sense, almost paradoxically suspends this criticism of human "invention" and "fiction" (*adinventiones vel fictiones*, as the Synod of Meaux expresses its censure). While she obviously cannot draw on a biblical origin for the texts of her chants, she puts forward the even more audacious claim for their visionary origin (including the music!), presenting them, as Barbara Newman elegantly put it, as the "transcription of a celestial concert" that reproduces heavenly liturgy itself.

However, the rather scholarly and "unhymnic" style in the texts of some of these pieces seems to clash heavily with this claim. One example is the first part of the Marian chant *O splendidissima gemma*, which opens the above-mentioned series of visionary songs in *Scivias* 3.13:

> O most splendid gem,
> and fair grace like the sun
> which streams in you,
> a spring leaping from the Father's heart,
>
> that is His only Word,
> through which he created
> the prime matter of the world,
> which Eve disturbed.
>
> This Word the Father,
> made a man in you,
>
> And therefore you are that one shining matter,
> whereby the Word exhales all principles,
> to form all creatures in the prime matter.

In the notated sources, the chant is rubricated as an antiphon, albeit without any relationship to a specific psalm or canticle, a point that appears to be typical of the liturgical "vagueness" of Hildegard's creations. While the "rhapsodic," melodic language of *O splendidissima*, with its wealth of repetitive elements and its aspects of "ruminating" circularity,[65] could be

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[64] Andreas Haug, "Ein neues Textdokument zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Sequenz," in *Festschrift Ulrich Siegele zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Rudolf Faber (Kassel, 1991), pp. 9–19, esp. pp. 17–18. On these tendencies of the Carolingian era as a possible background for the ban of such non-biblical elements, see Pierre-Marie Gy, "Les tropes dans l'histoire de la liturgie et de la théologie," in *Research on Tropes*, ed. Gunilla Iversen (Stockholm, 1983), pp. 7–16.

[65] These observations dovetail perfectly with the conclusions of the Bingen conference of 1998 (see note 1), and are open to diverging interpretations, from a hypothesis of deliberate rupture with conventional musical rules, in the sense of a conscious artistic strategy, right up to a verdict of compositional amateurishness and even deficiency See also Jürg

interpreted as a type of musical reflection of heavenly singing, on the textual level the evidence presents a rather strange mixture of contrasting features. If we are indeed in the presence of a vocabulary that is at least in part remarkably poetical (such as the initial lines *O splendidissima gemma et serenum decus solis*, or the expression *fons saliens de corde Patris* to describe the eternal birth of the second person of the Trinity), we also detect a gesture towards treatise-like argumentation in the passages dealing with concepts of creation and incarnation (as in the series of relative clauses: *qui tibi infusus est . . ., qui est unicum verbum suum . . ., per quod creavit . . .*, or the rather clumsy formulation *et ob hoc es tu . . .*, to give just a few examples) that recalls formulations from the writings of highly speculative theological writers, such as Johannes Scotus Eriugena and others. To find such elements in a chant that claims to be not only poetical, but also to echo the heavenly liturgy itself, is odd.

Scivias 3.13 is not the only text that articulates such pretensions. Hildegard's controversy with Tenxwind mentioned above points to the same direction. The very core of this conflict between two enthusiastic women, both rooted in the milieu of Gregorian reform, is actually not the clash of two opposite "Weltanschauungen" of which Alfred Haverkamp spoke,[66] but rather a fundamental difference in the concept of liturgical celebration. More precisely, it lies in Hildegard's shocking claim for the eschatological quality of the liturgical celebration in her church at Rupertsberg, clearly illustrated by the biblical argumentation she deploys in her answer to Tenxwind: in order to justify her practice, Hildegard refers to chapter 14 of the Apocalypse. The attitudes and attributes of the Rupertsberg nuns, criticized by Tenxwind, are said to be imitations of the signs of the elect in heaven in that the nuns have the names of the Lamb and of his Father written on their foreheads (*Habentes nomen eius et nomen Patris eius scriptum in frontibus suis*—Apoc. 14:1), which is appropriate because they are the virgin brides of Christ, who follow the Lamb wherever he goes (*Sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit*—Apoc. 14:4).[67] Like the chants in *Scivias* 3.13, this liturgical choreography claims to transcend the traditional liturgy of the earthly Church and to participate instead in the eternal liturgy of the saints in heaven, rising indeed to the most central—virginal—circle of this heavenly liturgy. The phrases between the two verses of the

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Stenzl, "Wie hat 'Hildegard vom Disibodenberg und Rupertsberg' komponiert? Ein analytischer Versuch mit den E-Antiphonen und dem Ordo Virtutum," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 64 (2007): 179–210.

[66] Haverkamp, "Tenxwind von Andernach und Hildegard von Bingen," pp. 515–48.

[67] *Epistolarium*, I, 52R, p. 129, ll. 38–39.

Apocalypse are not explicitly quoted here, yet any medieval reader of the epistolary would think of them when reading Hildegard's text:

> I heard a sound from heaven, like the sound of many waters, and like the sound of a great thunder. The sound which I heard was like that of harpists playing on their harps. They sing a new song before the throne, and before the four living creatures and the elders. No one could learn the song except the one hundred forty-four thousand, those who had been redeemed out of the earth. (Apoc. 14:2–3)

Are Hildegard's visionary songs an echo of the sound from heaven, a *vox de caelo*, an anticipation of that "new song," which no one can understand and sing except the virginal circle of the elect in heaven? Although not explicitly formulated, such connotations cannot be ignored, and what marks Hildegard's specific attitude and gives it a breath of scandal for her contemporaries is precisely this obliteration of the demarcation between a mediated anticipation of the eternal adoration and praise of God peculiar to the traditional concept of liturgy, and the claim for an apparently unrefracted identification with the "heavenly liturgy."

Tradition or Innovation?

It is beyond doubt that the Hildegardian concepts of vision and liturgy are different from or even contrary to those of Elisabeth, for whom the traditional repertory, with its strongly biblically rooted texts, acts as a canonically established, "objective" reference for Christologically oriented visions. This situation appears almost inverted in Hildegard, whose visionary ecstasy produces a range of newly invented chants with strong textual and musical idiosyncrasies that constitute a sort of "liturgical shadowland," as John Stevens so aptly expresses in the title of his article on Hildegard as a composer.[68] To simplify the difference even more: in one case, liturgy produces vision, and in the other, vision produces liturgy.

At this point, however, we must also consider a general problem inextricably linked with medieval visionary literature, i.e. the issue of the refraction of the ecstatic experience during the process of recording it in written form—the only form through which we today may access this experience. The visionary production of both Hildegard and Elisabeth underwent editorial refining by their erudite environment. In the case of

[68] Stevens, "The Musical Individuality of Hildegard's Songs," pp. 163–88.

Hildegard's songs, the possibility cannot be discounted that their presentation results both from the immediacy of "visionary audition" (*verba, que in visione audit*, as Guibert formulates almost paradoxically but very accurately in his letter 18),[69] as well as from subsequent "liturgizing" of these pieces. This may have been a general concern for Hildegard's entourage (especially those skilled in this regard), who sought to present a hagiographical structure of their heroine's oeuvre through the deliberate accentuation of its extraordinary features. Lieven Van Acker demonstrated such a strategy for the epistolary in an exemplary manner.[70] For Elisabeth's visions, I already dealt with such aspects, if only briefly, when I discussed the role of Ekbert.[71] They are transmitted in a reshaped version written by her brother after her death. He incidentally also alludes to an important—albeit often neglected—aspect of mediation: the translation from an originally vernacular (in this case German) form of the visionary's utterance into Latin for at least a part of the visions.[72]

In light of this process, it must be considered whether the reference to the liturgy and to liturgical texts in the first part of Elisabeth's *Liber Visionum* might not simply be part of a hagiographical "lifting" along the lines of that which we have noted for Hildegard. The intention, however, would have been quite different: Ekbert's aim would not have been the highlighting of outstanding and even transgressive aspects, as was the case with Hildegard; rather, it would have been to present Elisabeth as an exemplary Benedictine nun living in strict conformity with the liturgically centered normativity of her order. Yet, looking more closely at Ekbert's strategy, it seems that he was even more interested in modeling his sister as a figure with prophetical aspirations based on the example of Hildegard. Actually, Elisabeth's *Liber viarum Dei*, written between June 1156 and August 1157 after her visit with Hildegard in 1156 and under Ekbert's immediate influence, is symptomatic evidence of this tendency; even its title is a programmatic reference to (and reverence toward!) the model of Hildegard's *Liber Scivias* (*c.*1141–1151).[73] In view of the primary cycle of Elisabeth's visions considered in this essay, this would mean that the systematic reference to monastic life, and especially to regular liturgy, should not be considered

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[69] Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae*, 18, p. 230, l. 182.

[70] See the conclusion, pp. 166–68, from "Der Briefwechsel der heiligen Hildegard" mentioned in note 48.

[71] See above pp. 87–88.

[72] For a discussion of this problem, see Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Visionary*, pp. 28–31.

[73] More on this in Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Visionary*, pp. 21–22 and 34.

as a result of hagiographical strategies, but rather as a residual feature of Elisabeth's own experience that survived any restyling by her brother, and might thus account for a rather sound air of authenticity.

The fundamental differences between the two visionary cultures, which we are able to observe in Elisabeth and Hildegard, must thus be placed in relation to their biographical context. Until her death in 1163, Elisabeth remained firmly embedded in the restricting conditions of her double monastery situation, while Hildegard, after her departure from Disibodenberg, enjoys the privilege of considerable autonomy, ruling as abbess of her new foundation in Rupertsberg. This process of charismatically legitimated emancipation from her established monastic background might also have led to the self-assured non-conformism of musical and textual language in her so-called liturgical creations, which clearly and deliberately diverge from canonical tradition.

It is exactly this non-conformist aspect that seems to make Hildegard's writings—as an offspring of what we might call an emancipated career—appear more spectacular than Elisabeth's, at least from a modern point of view, and this has led to an uncontested dominance of Hildegard in modern scholarly and popular interest. This appears all the more interesting when one considers the medieval resonance of their respective works: nearly 150 extant manuscripts attest to the broad and international spread of Elisabeth's work, which, for example, reached England beginning around 1170, and at the beginning of the 13th century was known even in Iceland.[74] This scope of dissemination was unknown to Hildegard's writings during the same period.

A further distinction between the two appears in the type of vision that we dealt with in the first part of the article. During the women's lifetimes and shortly thereafter, there occurred a thematic shift from the earlier tradition's "otherworld" journeys through Purgatory and Paradise—still present, for example, in the topologically structured visions of the Irish knight Tundal or Tnugdal, written in 1148, and even in the late 12th-century case of the anonymous monk of Eynsham[75]—to what Peter Dinzelbacher has called "die Begegnung mit dem Minne- und Passions-Christus" ("the

[74] Kurt Köster, "Elisabeth von Schönau. Werk und Wirkung im Spiegel der mittelalterlichen handschriftlichen Überlieferung," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1951), 243–315, and Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Visionary*, pp. 48–49.

[75] Thomas Ehlen et al., eds., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur*. ScriptOralia: Reihe A: Altertumswissenschaftliche Reihe 25 (Tübingen, 1998); Robert Easting, ed., *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham* (Oxford, 2002).

encounter with the loving and suffering Christ").[76] This type of engagement is hardly perceptible in Hildegard, whose visionary interests and spiritual attitude are definitely more behind the times, whereas Elisabeth—ironically more in the early layer of the *Liber Visionum* than in the later, prophetically styled parts of her visionary oeuvre—can be considered a harbinger of later developments. Actually, the use of official liturgy, especially chant texts, as a framework for personal meditation, and even mystical and visionary contemplation, is a tendency that can be observed frequently in the 13th and 14th centuries, especially in the milieu of Cistercian and Dominican nunneries. Although Elisabeth thus seems to foreshadow mystics like Gertrude of Helfta, Mechthild of Hackeborn, or the protagonists of the Dominican *Schwesternbücher*,[77] there is nonetheless a significant difference between the Schönau Benedictine and most other German mystics of subsequent generations: Elisabeth's complete silence about a possible mystical dialogue that her visionary encounters with Christ might have produced. While Gertrude and Mechthild or the Dominican nuns at Töss, Diessenhofen (St Katharinental), Colmar, and elsewhere report—often explicitly and sometimes rather at length—their intimate dialogues with the bridegroom of their soul, Elisabeth is absolutely reticent regarding such revelations. Her only concern seems to be the visual presence of the suffering Christ: to see him, not to speak with him.

Yet this manifest desire of visual encounter with the "Savior," the dominating impetus of this "visionary re-creation of the events of Jesus' life,"[78] again foreshadows later religious experience, as was already suggested in the discussion of the chalice vision on Maundy Thursday. It evokes famous instances of visual devotion, such as the spectacular performance of Christmas 1223 in the cavern of Greccio, when Francis of Assisi staged a "new Bethlehem" with manger, hay, and living animals because, as his biographer Thomas of Celano reports, he wanted to celebrate the memory of that little child born in Bethlehem and see as closely as possible with physical eyes (*corporeis oculis*) the infant in its defenselessness, lying on

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[76] Peter Dinzelbacher, *Revelationes*, Typologie des sources du moyen-âge latin 57 (Turnhout, 1991), p. 32.

[77] Cf. the almost forgotten article by Stephanus Hilpisch, "Chorgebet und Frömmigkeit," in *Heilige Überlieferung. Ausschnitte aus der Geschichte des Mönchtums und des heiligen Kultes. Festgabe zum silbernen Abtsjubiläum Ildefons Herwegen*, ed. Odo Casel (Münster, 1938), pp. 263–84.

[78] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau. Visionary*, p. 103.

the hay between ox and ass.[79] *Volo pervidere*—the expression Thomas of Celano attributes here to his hero—would perfectly suit Elisabeth's insistent desire of visuality.

It goes without saying that Elisabeth is much too firmly rooted in traditional structures of "old" Benedictine monasticism and in a class society centered on nobility to be won over to a type of proto-Franciscan (or, more generally speaking, pre-mendicant) attitude: "her piety does not neatly fit into a periodized scheme," as Anne L. Clark rightly states.[80] Yet at least to some extent, and especially given her poignant interest in Christ's humanity, the attitude of Elisabeth's religious culture already seems to point the way to what we might call the spirituality of the Gothic age, particularly in comparison with her counterpart on the other side of the Rhine, the still very "Romanesque" Hildegard.

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[79] Thomas of Celano, *Vita prima S. Francisci*, I 84: "Volo enim illius pueri memoriam agere, qui in Bethlehem natus est, et infantilium necessitatum eius incommoda, quomodo in praesepio reclinatus et quomodo, adstante bove et asino, supra foenum positus exstitit, utcumque corporeis oculis pervidere." *Legendae S. Francisci Assisiensis saeculis XIII et XIV conscriptae*, in Analecta Franciscana 10 (1926–1941), pp. 3–115, here 84.

[80] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau, Visionary*, p. 134.

HILDEGARD, THE SCHOOLS, AND THEIR CRITICS

Justin A. Stover

The century in which Hildegard of Bingen lived was a time of great upheaval and cultural change. Prominent among these developments is the transformation of the education system, founded on monasteries and cathedral schools, into the independent academic institutions which would eventually become universities.[1] The full story of this dramatic transformation has not yet been narrated, nor has Hildegard's place in these events been fully recounted. Constant Mews, in a seminal 1998 study, introduced the question of Hildegard's relationship to the schools of her day, concluding that "we cannot exclude Hildegard from the scholastic world in which she lived."[2] By examining her reading, her personal connection with schoolmasters, her imitation of scholastic genres, and her conception of human reason and its limits, this study will further investigate the *magistra*'s connections to the scholastic world and contextualize her critique of the schools within a 12th-century discourse of monastic anti-scholasticism.

Hildegard's Scholastic Sources

Hildegard's sources have been occasionally discussed, and it is not the place here to fully investigate the question.[3] Nonetheless, in order to

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[1] Four general surveys in English provide essential insight into this transition. Discussing the schools of the 11th century from which the later schools developed is C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994). Treating the period of transition in the 12th century, with a particular focus on the critics of the schools, is Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford, 1985). Greater detail on the masters of the 12th century can be found in Richard Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1995–2001). Commenting on monastic education throughout the medieval period, but focusing particularly on the 12th century, is Jean Leclercq, *Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York, 1982).

[2] Constant Mews, "Hildegard and the Schools," in *Context*, p. 110.

[3] The serious study of Hildegard's sources was inaugurated by Hans Liebeschütz's monograph *Das allegorische Weltbild der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen* (Leipzig, 1930). Since that time, no scholar has done more to further our knowledge of Hildegard's sources than Peter Dronke. Among his many contributions, one can point first to his introduction

accurately assess Hildegard's relationship to the schools, it is important to determine whether or not Hildegard was familiar with some of the texts 12th-century scholastics studied, as Peter Dronke and others have argued based on lexical evidence. The evidence presented, however, is hardly conclusive. For example, Dronke has argued that Hildegard was deeply familiar with the *Timaeus* of Plato, in the translation of the late-antique scholar Calcidius. But the phrase *prima materia* on which he bases his argument is fairly widely attested in the 12th century, as Dronke himself notes.[4] Her cosmological use of *conglutinare* could as easily have come from Augustine[5] as Calcidius. The phrase *capacitas mundi* is used by Jerome[6] and Cassiodorus.[7] Hildegard's phrase *circumvolutio elementorum* also appears in Peter Comestor's *Historia scolastica*, completed around 1170.[8] Claudianus Mamertus is similarly unlikely to have been a direct source: the adverb *illocaliter*, while undoubtedly stemming ultimately from his works, had some currency in the 12th century, as evidenced in its use by authors as diverse as Frowin of Engelberg,[9] Aelred of Rievaulx,[10] and, most importantly, Rupert of Deutz.[11] It is also unlikely that Hildegard read Filastrius's rare *Diversarum haeresiarum liber*; her key term *fructuositas* is amply attested in the works of her older contemporary, the abbot Guibert

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to his and Albert Derolez's edition of the *Liber diuinorum operum* (Turnhout, 1996), from which the examples in this study are drawn, as well as to "Problemata Hildegardiana," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1981): 97–131, and the summary in "Platonic-Christian Allegories in the Homilies of Hildegard of Bingen," in *From Athens to Chartres. Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought. Studies in Honor of Edouard Jeauneau*, ed. H. J. Westra (Leiden, 1992), pp. 383–84. Several essays in the volume edited by Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke, *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art* (London, 1998) are also significant, especially the essays by Burnett, "Hildegard of Bingen and the Science of the Stars," pp. 111–20; Danielle Jacquart, "Hildegarde et la physiologie de son temps," pp. 121–34; and Laurence Moulinier, "Abesse et agronome: Hildegarde et la savoir botanique de son temps," pp. 135–56. Most recently the question of Hildegard's philosophical/scientific sources has been discussed by Moulinier in her edition of the *Cause et cure* (Berlin, 2003), pp. lxiii–ci.

[4] Dronke, "Problemata," pp. 112–13.

[5] Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, ed. Dorothea Weber, CSEL 91 (Vienna, 1998), 2.7.9, p. 128.

[6] Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, 1959), 1.15, p. 260.

[7] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 97–98 (Turnhout, 1958), 118.63, p. 1085.

[8] Peter Comestor, *Historia scolastica in Ezechiel*, PL 198:1442c.

[9] Frowin of Engelberg, *Explanatio dominicae orationis*, ed. Sigisbert Beck, CCCM 134 (Turnhout, 1998), 4.2, p. 174.

[10] Aelred of Rievaulx, *De anima*, eds. Anselm Hoste and Charles Hugh Talbot, CCCM 1 (Turnhout, 1971), 1.64, p. 705.

[11] Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, ed. Rhaban Haacke, CCCM 7 (Turnhout, 1967), 2.13, p. 47, and 9.8, p. 324.

of Nogent (d. 1124).[12] The evidence for Hildegard's reading of Constantine the African's *Pantegni* is likewise tenuous: their shared *conglobositas* could result from independent coinage, and Hugh of St Victor used *suffraganeus* in the exact same cosmological sense.[13] Thus, all of the richly suggestive terminology, which contributes so much to Hildegard's fresh and original Latinity, stems not as much from Hildegard's own study of the ancient *auctores* as from the monastic and scholastic environment of the 12th-century renaissance. Indeed, the similarity of terms, doctrines, and motifs in both Hildegard and these *auctores*, without the extensive verbal correspondence constitutive of a demonstrable intertextual relationship, seems most likely to be the product of oral transmission.[14] As Charles Burnett has noted in identifying possible source material for her scientific doctrines, "verbal correspondences are minimal, and it is more likely that she was influenced by the doctrines of these works simply because they were current among those whom she talked to."[15] Similarly, Hildegard's store of evocative vocabulary may well reflect the discussions she had with contemporary theologians, philosophers, and scholars.

Hildegard and Contemporary Schoolmasters

In her extensive travels and voluminous correspondence, Hildegard was undoubtedly exposed to conversation and intellectual exchange with scholars from the contemporary schools. In an autobiographical section of the *Vita*, Hildegard details one particular encounter with a *philosophus* from Mainz who came to her and endowed the Rupertsberg with new holdings. He had scoffed at her visions "with malicious words" before

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[12] See Guibert of Nogent, *Moralia in Genesin* 8.29, PL 156:222D; *Tropologiae in prophetas minores* 1.2, PL 156:354D; 3.12, PL 156:405D; and 4.7, PL 156:443B; and *De laude sanctae Mariae* 8, PL 156:563B. On Guibert and the context of these works, see most recently Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002), pp. 176–201. In this regard, one might also point out that Hildegard's curious word *inaquositas* (see Dronke, "Problemata," p. 112) is also attested first in Guibert, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 127a (Turnhout, 1996), 6.12.

[13] See Hugh of St Victor, *Libellus de formatione arche*, ed. Patrice Sicard, CCCM 176 (Turnhout, 2001), c. 11, p. 158. The 10th-century Gerard of Csanad also offers an identical cosmological use of this word: *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum*, ed. Gabriel Silagi, CCCM 49 (Turnhout, 1978), c. 8, ll. 1366 and 1546.

[14] Beverly Kienzle came to the same conclusion with regard to Hildegard's patristic sources; see *Speaking New Mysteries*, esp. p. 65. Cf. Angela Carlevaris, "Ildegarda e la patristica," in *Context*, pp. 65–80.

[15] Charles Burnett, "Hildegard of Bingen," p. 120.

but, having thoroughly examined them, understood what they were and from whom they came. While dwelling with the sisters, he gained such esteem that all of them called him their father.[16] The actual identity of this man remains unknown, and it is unclear what Hildegard means precisely when she calls him a *philosophus*. Most likely, however, he was a wealthy man of noble birth who had the opportunity to study the arts in the schools at Paris or elsewhere, and whose training in logic, cosmology, and academic theology led him to dismiss Hildegard's visionary experiences as fanciful.

Not all masters had such a negative appraisal of Hildegard's visions. Some of them wrote to her requesting prayers and advice. In her replies, she lays out her own view of the masters' role, with the limits of human reason and the danger of excessive argumentation as constant themes. She exhorts a certain Master Radulph, "Take care that, on account of the great prudence of your learning and the many arguments of this world, you do not abandon the fiery gifts of the Holy Spirit, and you will live unto eternity."[17] In a letter to another unknown master, who had requested to share in the prayers of her nuns, she cautions that no rational soul is able to comprehend God, "for whatever has a beginning and is changed is not able to comprehend the fullness of the knowledge of God."[18] Masters ought to respect the limits of their profession, and when they do not, they fail to perform good works. Addressing the provost and clergy of St Peter's at Trier, around 1160, Hildegard repeats her conviction that,

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[16] *V. Hild.*, pp. 2, 12, 37. This event occurred before 1158, as Hildegard goes on to relate how she composed the *Vite mer.* after this event.

[17] *Epistolarium*, III, 279, p. 33: "Caue ne propter multam prudentiam doctrine nec propter multa argumenta huius seculi ignea dona Spiritus Sancti derelinquas, et in eternum uiues." This Radulph has not been identified; chronologically, the master Radulphus Ardens, once a student of Gilbert of Poitiers, is a good possibility.

[18] Ibid., 281, p. 36: "Nulla enim rationalis <anima> in ulla eum ascensione comprehendere ualet. Vnde et Paulus dicit: O altitudo diuitiarum sapientie et scientie Dei. Quod sic intelligendum est: Diuitie sapientie et scientie Dei in tanta plenitudine sunt, quod nulla incipiens scientia eam terminare ualet, nec in ipsis uacuitas uel detrimentum est, sed in fortissima ui et in altissimo studio semper florent et uirent, unde nec angeli nec homines earum delectatione ad plenum saturari ualent. Talis enim est sapientia et scientia Dei, quia sancta Diuinitas omni inceptione carens equali sapientia absque uanitate mendacii consistit. Sapientia enim Dei sapit hanc scientiam, quod ipse possibilitatem habet omnia facere et regere, quod nulla creaturarum, quia mutabiles sunt, facere potest. Sic enim scientie Dei plenitudinem quicquid initium habet et mutatur comprehendere non ualet, et ideo etiam iudicia eius incomprehensibilia sunt et inuestigabiles uie eius, quia nemo dinumerare nec, quales sint, dinoscere potest."

although she herself has no learning of her own and has subjected herself to the masters,

> The teachers and the masters do not wish to sing with the trumpet of the justice of God. Thus the dawn of good works has been extinguished in them, the dawn which illuminates the whole cosmos and which is like a mirror of light.[19]

Those scholars who remain faithful face neglect and hostility: in her discourse to the clergy of Cologne, she envisions how the heretics will persecute the faithful scholars, advising the powerful and the rich to punish them for their fidelity.[20]

In 1168, Hildegard composed a discourse addressed to these masters and teachers, further considering the question of scholasticism and heresy.[21] "Why, o you masters and teachers of the people, why are you blind and mute in your interior knowledge of letters, which God has proposed to you?"[22] The knowledge of Scripture, granted by God, like the sun which illuminates the moon, has provided the masters with their learning; they, like the moon which brightens the shadows of night, should shine on the unfaithfulness of those who err, who "like the Sadducees and like many others erring in faith are heretics, who are included among you and whom

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[19] *Epistolarium*, II, 223R, p. 490: "Doctores et magistri tuba iustitie Dei canere nolunt. Ideo oriens bonorum operum in eis exstinctus est, qui totum mundum illuminat et qui quasi speculum luminis est."

[20] Ibid., I, 15R, p. 41: "Wach! errantes homines qui nunc sunt, nesciunt quid faciunt, sicut et illi qui nos in prioribus temporibus precesserunt. Nam alii homines qui eo tempore in fide catholica errant, istos timebunt et seruili seruitio eis ministrabunt, et quantum poterunt eos imitabuntur. Cumque isti cursum erroris sui hoc modo compleuerint, doctores et sapientes, qui tunc in catholica fide persistunt, undique persequentes expellent . . . Quapropter principibus et diuitibus consilium dant, ut doctores et sapientes ac clericos fustibus et lignis coerceant, quatenus iusti fiant." On this discourse, see Elisabeth Gössmann, "Der Brief Hildegards an den Kölner Klerus zum Problem der Katharer," in *Die Kölner Universität im Mittelalter: Geistige Wurzeln und soziale Wirklichkeit*, ed. Albert Zimmermann, Miscellanea mediaevalia 20 (Berlin, 1989), pp. 312–18; Uwe Brunn, *Des contestataires aux "Cathares": Discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition* (Paris, 2006), pp. 253–56; *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 253–54.

[21] This discourse forms the third part of the hybrid composition known as the *Explanatio Symboli Athanasii*. As the *Explanatio*'s editor Christopher Evans explains, this work was compiled in the manuscripts from three separate works: a letter to Volmar (*c.*1170), the commentary proper, and the discourse to the masters (*c.*1168). See his introduction in *Opera minora*, pp. 104–05.

[22] *Expl. Symb.*, p. 127: "Vos, o magistri et doctores populi, quare ceci ac muti estis in interiori scientia litterarum, quam Deus uobis proposuit, quemadmodum solem, lunam et stellas instituit, ut racionalis homo per eas tempora temporum cognoscat et discernat?"

many of you know."[23] This is a serious charge: not only are there benighted heretics whom the masters ought to instruct, but heresy lurks even among the masters themselves. These heretics "do not see and do not wish to know that they are rational through the breath of life," and as a result, "in a rational man, there is a likeness to a prone beast."[24] Reason is the issue at stake: these heretics, scholastics included, refuse to realize that it is only through God that they are rational. Hildegard was not alone in connecting scholars with Cathars and other heretics. William of St Thierry (who will be discussed below) accused the famous French scholar William of Conches of Manichaeanism around 1140,[25] and Alan of Lille, writing before 1160, linked the doctrines of Plato, still very popular in the schools, with a Manichaeanism that "flourishes still among very many people."[26]

"You scholars," Hildegard continues, "ruminate on Scripture more for the sake of fame and fortune than for God."[27] This too echoes a common contemporary criticism of the masters of the schools. John of Salisbury pointedly notes in his *Policraticus* (*c.*1159) that for many scholars "philosophy

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[23] Idem: "Scientia scripturarum uobis proposita est, ut in illa uelut in solari radio unumquodque periculum cognoscatis, et ut per doctrinam uestram in infidelitate errantium hominum ut luna in tenebras noctis luceatis, qui ut Saducei sunt et heretici ac ut alii multi in fide errantes, qui inter uos inclusi sunt, et quos etiam multi ex uobis sciunt, prona facie pecoribus et bestiis similes existentes."

[24] Idem: "Nam nec uident nec scire uolunt quod per spiraculum uite racionales sunt, nec capita sua ad illum eleuant, qui eos creauit et qui eos per quinque sensus regit, quos ipsis donauit. Quare ergo in racionali homine similitudo proni animalis est, quod per flatum aeris suscitatur, quem iterum exalat, et sic finitur, et quod scientiam non habet aliam, quam quod sentit et ferientem timet, et quod per se nichil operatur, nisi ad hoc impellatur?"

[25] William of St Thierry, *De erroribus Guillelmi de Conchis*, ed. Paul Verdeyen, CCCM 89A (Turnhout, 2007), p. 8: "Vbi in altero quidem stultorum quorumdam philosophorum uidetur sententiam sequi, dicentium nihil prorsus esse praeter corpora et corporea, non aliud esse Deum in mundo quam concursum elementorum et temperaturam naturae, et hoc ipsum esse animam in corpore; in altero manifestus Manichaeus est, dicens animam hominis a bono Deo creatam, corpus uero a principe tenebrarum." Just a few years after this letter, Bernard would embark upon a campaign against the Manichaeans in Cologne. See Brunn, *Des contestataires aux "Cathares,"* pp. 136–78.

[26] Alan of Lille, Summa 'Quoniam homines,' ed. Palémon Glorieux, Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge 20 (1953), pp. 119–359, 1.5–6. On the perceived connection between Platonism and heresy in the 12th-century schools, see my dissertation, "Reading Plato in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Varieties of Plato's Reception in the Latin West Before 1215" (Diss., Harvard University, 2011).

[27] *Expl. Symb.*, p. 128: "Vos autem qui in magistrali doctrina uelut luna et stelle audientibus estis, quibus tamen magis propter honorem et diuicias seculi quam propter Deum scripturam ruminatis."

itself seems a worthless effort, unless the reward of wealth succeeds it."[28] The Premonstratensian Philip of Harvengt (d. 1183) declared that they

> ...judge it happier to glory in pecuniary prosperity than to be racked with pain and suffering for the sake of learning, since indeed to them knowledge seems to have no other value than that through it one might come temporally to honors and riches.[29]

Hildegard then sums up her discourse with a sort of catechism, explaining to the masters what they should be teaching: that God created heaven and earth and all creation for man, that he put man in paradise, and that man violated God's commandment and was cast out. Teaching these things, Hildegard preaches, "you may cut off the night-shadows of heretics and infidels (*errantium et infidelium hominum*), who do not know on what path they walk, that you may draw them to us through faith."[30] This dense and finely wrought discourse brings together both Hildegard's ideal vision for masters as admonishers and teachers of the Christian flock and her damning critique of their actual adherence to avarice, vainglory, and heresy.

Hildegard and Master Odo

Two letters by Hildegard provide our most accurate picture of her attitude towards contemporary masters. The first (Letter 39R) is addressed in response to Master Odo of Soissons, and the second (Letter 40) is addressed to Master Odo of Paris. All assumptions generally made about these two letters rest on uncertain foundations. Lieven Van Acker, the editor of Hildegard's *Epistolarium*, had doubts about their authenticity, although

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[28] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. Clement Charles Julian Webb, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1909), lib. 7, c. 15, p. 156. On John's critique of the schools in the *Policraticus*, see Ferruolo, *The Origins*, pp. 131–40.

[29] Philip of Harvengt, *De institutione clericorum* 2.28, PL 203:701A: "Feliciusque judicant prosperitate pecuniaria gloriari, quam discendi gratia aerumnis et laboribus cruciari, cum enim eis ad nihil aliud scientia valere videatur nisi ut per eam ad honores et divitias temporaliter veniatur."

[30] *Expl. Symb.*, p. 128: "audite et intelligite quod multo plus necessarium esset, ut nocturnas tenebras errantium et infidelium hominum scinderetis, qui ignorant in qua uia ambulent, quatenus illos per fidem ad nos traheretis. Nunc regite eos, per ueram admonitionem ipsis ostendentes quod Deus in principio propter hominem celum et terram et reliquas creaturas creauit, et quod hominem in uoluptuosum locum paradysi posuit, eique preceptum quod preuaricatus est dedit, quapropter et in tenebras exilii huius expulsus est."

more recently John Van Engen has defended them as genuine.[31] They have been presumed to be by the same author, but in a century with so many Master Odos, this assertion needs further evidence, and preliminary assessments would cast some doubt on this identification.[32] The dating of the letters is also far less certain than usually supposed. In 1148, at the consistory following the council of Reims (the same council in which Hildegard's own works were reputedly discussed),[33] Gilbert, the bishop of Poitiers, was put on trial at the instigation of Bernard of Clairvaux for holding (among other things) that God's paternity and divinity are not identical with him. Based on the (pseudo-)Augustinian axiom "Whatever is in God is God,"[34] the consistory required Gilbert to clarify his proposition. This same proposition is put to Hildegard by Odo of Paris in Letter 40, and part of Hildegard's answer mirrors the *auctoritas* used by Bernard and his allies at the council, "What is in God is God." Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter first suggested the connection of this letter to the council, arguing for a date around 1148, and their arguments have been accepted by most scholars.[35] Van Engen and Mews consider this letter to

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[31] See Van Acker's introduction in *Epistolarium*, I, pp. xii–xiii. Van Engen analyses these letters and defends their authenticity in "Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard," in *Umfeld*, pp. 393–95.

[32] The strongest argument in favor of the identification is that Odo of Soissons is known to have taught at Paris. The arguments against the identification are nonetheless numerous: the two letters do not appear together in any of the manuscripts; the salutations and valedictions of the two letters are entirely different; and their styles are quite distinct, with Odo of Soissons's phrased in relatively short sentences with conventional word order, and Odo of Paris's consisting of a small number of densely constructed periods, with a liberal use of absolute constructions. The prose *cursus* of the two letters also differ: Odo of Soissons consistently uses a *tardus* for full stops and a *planus* for both partial stops and major divisions, while Odo of Paris is much less consistent in his prose rhythm but does tend to use a *tardus* at full stops and a *velox* at partial stops. Beyond these stylistic differences, the content of the letters and the *personae* of the authors have little in common with one another. On the various Odos (36 by one count) of the schools of the 12th century, see Gillian Evans, "The Place of Odo of Soissons' *Quaestiones*. Problem-Solving in Mid-Twelfth-Century Bible Study and Some Matters of Language and Logic," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 49 (1982): 127. To maintain an agnostic stance on the question, this paper will follow the manuscripts in identifying the author of Letter 39 as Odo of Soissons and the author of Letter 40 as Odo of Paris.

[33] See Van Engen, "Letters," pp. 385–86.

[34] On this axiom, see most recently and comprehensively the article by Luisa Valente, "Alla ricerca dell'autorità perduta: '*Quidquid est in Deo, Deus est*,'" *Medioevo* 25 (1999): 713–38; along with Lauge Olaf Nielsen, *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Gilbert Porreta's Thinking and the Theological Expositions of the Doctrine of the Incarnation During the Period 1130–1180* (Leiden, 1982), p. 60, n. 96.

[35] Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter. *Die Echtheit des Schrifttums der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen: quellenkritische Untersuchungen* (Cologne, 1956), pp. 172–73.

have been written shortly after the council, during which Odo had heard reports of Hildegard and resolved to get her opinion of the council's decision. Yet in Odo's letter there is no essential connection to the council. He does not mention Gilbert's name, nor does he suggest that he has a particular individual's doctrine in mind, but rather states that "a large number of people" support the proposition. This idea is found as early as 1136, and it may not have been Gilbert's invention at all.[36] Further, as the research of Nikolaus Häring has shown, support for Gilbert's position did not immediately end after the council, despite his promise of emendation.[37] One of Gilbert's disciples, in fact, spent 30 years visiting libraries all over the world trying to find some authoritative patristic source for the *quicquid in Deo* dictum used to condemn him at Reims.[38] One of the most prominent of the anti-Gilbertine polemics was written by Geoffrey of Auxerre after Gilbert's death in 1154.[39] Another polemic against Gilbert's position was written by Clarembald of Arras (d. *c.*1187), certainly after Reims and probably in the 1150s.[40] After 1185, the former disciple of Gilbert, the Cistercian Everard of Ypres, wrote to Pope Urban III: "At Paris and elsewhere, . . . some people say, 'Paternity is God'; others say, 'Paternity is not God.'"[41] While the Gilbertine Everard prefers the latter position, he wants

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Van Acker, however, left open the possibility of a later date; see his table in *Epistolarium*, III, p. 222.

[36] The doctrine can be found in the *Sententiae varsavienses*, written before 1136 and edited by Friedrich Stegmüller, "*Sententiae varsavienses*. Ein neugefundenes Sentenzenwerk unter dem Einfluss des Anselm von Laon und des Peter Abaelard," *Divus Thomas* 45 (1942): 335–37. Stegmüller argues that the text refers to the doctrines of Gilbertus Universalis, who was accused by Abelard of holding a similar position. See David Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 179–80.

[37] On the difficult question as to whether Gilbert ever even actually said this in the first place, see Nikolaus Häring, "The Case of Gilbert de la Porrée Bishop of Poitiers (1142–1154)," *Mediaeval Studies* 13 (1951): 12–16.

[38] This was Adhemar of St-Ruf, and the story is narrated in the *Liber de vera philosophia* (partial edition by Paul Fournier, "Un adversaire inconnu de saint Bernard et de Pierre Lombard. Notice sur un manuscrit provenant de la Grande-Chartreuse," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 47 [1886], 394–417); see also Nikolaus Häring, "In Search of Adhemar's Patristic Collection," *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966): 336–46.

[39] For Geoffrey's *Libellus*, see John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. Reginald Poole (Oxford, 1927), p. 11; with Nikolaus Häring, "Notes on the Council and Consistory of Rheims (1148)," *Medieval Studies* 28 (1966): 51–52.

[40] This is the *Altercatio inter Clarenbaldum et magistrum Gislebertum*, ed. Nikolaus Häring, "Texts Concerning Gilbert of Poitiers," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 37 (1970): 169–203.

[41] Everard of Ypres, *Epistola ad Urbanum papam III*, ed. Jean Leclercq, "Textes sur Saint Bernard et Gilbert de la Porrée," *Mediaeval Studies* 14 (1952): 114–15: "Parisius et alibi . . . inquiunt quidam: 'Paternitas est Deus,' alii: 'Paternitas non est Deus.'" On Everard's

the Pope to clarify the situation: "Writing to the Parisians, you should define whether paternity is God."[42] Even after 1200, the English theologian Alexander Neckam (who was trained in Paris in the 1180s) dedicated an entire chapter of his *Speculum speculationum* to a refutation of those who deny that *paternitas est Deus*.[43] If this accurately describes the intellectual climate of the Parisian schools during the decades following Reims, there is no need whatsoever to assume that Master Odo of Paris wrote to Hildegard around the time of the council in 1148, and, given the fact that Odo explicitly does not ascribe the proposition to a single individual, a date at some point after Gilbert's death is to be preferred.[44]

Regardless of its date, however, this pair of letters is essential to understanding the link between Hildegard and the schools, as it provides the most direct, tangible interaction of her thought with the great Chartrian and Parisian scholastic traditions of the first half of the 12th century. The first letter is more typical of her correspondence with the masters. Hildegard writes to Odo of Soissons, comparing again the masters' knowledge to the sun. She continues: "Those who have the day of good knowledge, but look to others' inquiry of uselessness and to the varieties of shadows, which do not seek help in rationality but are vain, are dry and have no viridity in God."[45] The problem for the masters is not directing their minds towards God, "into the font of leaping waters," but looking instead for secondary causes, "various causes in another's house."[46] Odo seems to have taken Hildegard's criticisms seriously. In the 1150s, he quit the schools and became a Cistercian at Ourscamp. Looking back much later, having been made cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, he says

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letter and subsequent dialogue defending Gilbert, see Nikolaus Häring, "A Latin Dialogue on the Doctrine of Gilbert of Poitiers," *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953): pp. 243–89.

[42] Everard of Ypres, *Epistola ad Urbanum papam III*, p. 116: "Parisiensibus scribens diffinias utrum paternitas sit Deus."

[43] Alexander Neckam, *Speculum speculationum* 1, 11, ed. Rodney M. Thomson (Oxford 1988), pp. 129–30. On Alexander's life and education, see Richard W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157–1217)*, ed. and rev. Margaret Templeton Gibson (Oxford, 1984).

[44] Given the fact that this letter of Odo's is crucial for establishing the date at which Hildegard's reputation began to spread, this later dating is also more consistent with other pieces of evidence we have, which report of Hildegard's fame spreading beyond her immediate area in the Rhineland.

[45] *Epistolarium*, I, 39R, p. 101: "Qui diem bone scientie in uarietates tenebrarum, que auxilium in rationalitate non querunt sed uane sunt, arescunt, nec uiriditatem in Deo habent."

[46] Idem: "aspice in fontem aque salientis, et non require diuersas causas in aliena domo."

with regret, "Perhaps because I ate from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil despite the commandment, the heavenly wrath . . . has cast this sinner out."[47]

In the second letter, in response to Odo of Paris's question as to whether God is his paternity and divinity, Hildegard looks "to the true light" and discovers the answer is affirmative. She realizes that God is whole and entire (*plenus est et integer*), beyond human words, and therefore human words cannot divide him. God is not subject to rational analysis because analysis divides something into its constituent parts in order to understand. She explicitly appeals to the scriptural passage most often used to defend God's ultimate simplicity of essence and existence—*Ego sum qui sum*—and uses precisely the same item of comparison as that used in the charges against Gilbert at Reims. Although one can separate a *homo* from *humanitas*, one cannot separate *Deus* from *divinitas*.[48] She accuses anyone who holds this proposition of calling God a "point without a circle" (an argument Häring labels cryptic),[49] and of thereby denying the Eternal One. In fact, Hildegard argues with scholastic rigor, employing a *reductio ad absurdum*, that whosoever denies that paternity and divinity are God denies God himself.[50] If Odo had been seeking an unequivocal condemnation of the proposition, he was surely not disappointed: Hildegard's rejection of this thesis surpasses even that of Bernard of Clairvaux. Hildegard continues, following the same reasoning as the consistory: "God is complete, and what is in God is God."[51] Hildegard, by invoking precisely the *auctoritas* utilized frequently in the theological debates surrounding Gilbert's doctrines, shows Odo (and the subsequent readers of her *Epistolarium*) how closely attuned she was to the controversies over incipient scholasticism centered in northern France.

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[47] Odo of Soissons, *Epistolae* VIII, ed. Jean Leclercq, "Lettres d'Odon d'Ourscamp, cardinal cistercien," *Studia Anselmiana* 37 (1955): 156: "fortassis quia de ligno scientiae boni et mali contra vetitum manducavi, caelestis ira . . . suum peccatorem eiecit."

[48] This is the phrase used in the summary of charges edited by Jean Leclercq, "Textes sur Saint Bernard et Gilbert de la Porrée," p. 108: "Cap. I. Quod diuina natura, quae diuinitas dicitur, Deus non sit, sed forma qua Deus est, sicut humanitas homo non est sed forma qua homo est."

[49] See Häring, "The Case," p. 14, n. 28.

[50] *Epistolarium*, I, 39R, p. 104: "Quicumque enim dicit quod paternitas et diuinitas non sit Deus, hic nominat punctum absque circulo, et si punctum habere uult absque circulo, illum qui eternus est negat. Et quicumque negat quod paternitas et diuinitas Deus sit, Deum negat, quia uult quod aliqua uacuitas in Deo sit. Quod non est."

[51] Ibid., 40R, p. 104: "Sed Deus plenus est, et quod in Deo est Deus est."

However, she also shows her keen understanding of the underlying issues at stake. Gilbert's argument is not about *res*, but about *nomina*. She continues,

> God is not able to be shook out or filtered according to man, since there is nothing in God which is not God. And since creation has a beginning, hence the *racionalitas* of man comes upon God through *nomina*, just as it itself by its own proper nature is full of *nomina*.[52]

Quoting another dictum of 12th-century theology—*nihil est in Deo quod Deus non sit*[53]—Hildegard gestures towards a negative theology, as did other critics of Gilbert's proposition.[54] While acknowledging the capacity of human reason on the one hand, she affirms the central role of words (*nomina*) in a rational approach to God. In so doing, she displays a perceptive understanding of Gilbert's point of view: she realizes that his position is primarily semantic but subverts the traditional language used for God, through which, and only through which, reason can find God.[55] That Hildegard understands and is deeply engaged in the theological controversies surrounding this debate can scarcely be doubted: she utilizes precisely the same example used at Reims to explain Gilbert's position, she includes almost verbatim two *auctoritates* of scholastic theology, and she casts her response in the form of a formally logical *reductio ad absurdum*. Here the *magistra* demonstrates to the *magister* how he ought to be practicing his theology.[56]

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[52] *Epistolarium*, I, 40R, pp. 104–05: "Deus enim nec excuti nec excribrari secundum hominem potest, quia in Deo nihil est quod Deus non sit. Et quoniam creatura initium habet, ex hoc inuenit rationalitas hominis Deum per nomina, sicut et ipsa in proprietate sua plena est nominum."

[53] See Bruno of Segni, *Commentaria in Iohannem* 1, PL 165:451D; Peter Abelard, *Theologia Christiana*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert, CCCM 12 (Turnhout, 1969), 3.75, p. 225; the anonymous Victorine author of the *Allegoriae in evangelia* 5.2, PL 175:834D; the *Sententiae varsavienses*, p. 336; and Stephen Langton, *Commentarius in Sententias*, ed. Artur Michael Landgraf (Münster, 1952), 2.1, p. 69, n. 4.

[54] See, for example, the treatise *Invisibilia Dei*, §37–42, from the 1150s, which explicitly invokes the *via negativa* in critiquing Gilbert's position (ed. Nikolaus Häring, "The Treatise 'Invisibila dei' in Ms. Arras, Bibl. Mun. 981 (399)," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 40 [1973], 104–46).

[55] Mews ("Hildegard and the Schools," p. 103), in contrast, argues that Hildegard "had no feeling" for Gilbert's linguistic argument. However, as demonstrated here, Hildegard does realize that *nomina* are what are at stake, and thus at least implicitly grasps that Gilbert's own arguments are drawn from *nomina*.

[56] The interplay of genders here is intentional and significant, as Hildegard always represents herself as acutely sensitive to gender issues in her dealing with (male) masters. See, for example, *Epistolarium*, III, 280, p. 33, written to an unknown master: "I, a poor feminine form, who obey the teachings of the masters and scarcely know the *litterae scripturarum*,

The issues raised by Odo of Paris's letter remained of great importance to Hildegard, as she stresses the identity between God and his paternity and divinity in three of her subsequent works, clarifying her "cryptic" critique. In the *Expositiones*, she twice glosses the biblical *pater* as *divinitas* in a passage discussing the deadly consequences of reason gone astray.[57] In the *Cause et cure*, a work of uncertain date, Hildegard very prominently revisits the question of God's divinity and paternity at the beginning of the first book, employing an image similar to "the point without a circle." God's paternity is the rim of the wheel, and without his divinity, the wheel would be empty. Deity, or "Godness," is the fullness of the wheel.[58] She also discusses it obliquely in a fascinating vision in the *Liber vite meritorum*. In the vision, she sees a figure with the head of wolf, the tail of a lion, and the body of a dog. This grotesque chimera is *Maleficium*, or Witchcraft, who says:

> From Mercury and the other philosophers I will learn many things, who by their inquiry used to join the elements together in this way, that they discovered every single thing they wanted. The bravest and wisest men found these things partly from God and partly from evil spirits—what prevented it? And so they named the planets after themselves, since from the sun and the moon and the stars, they received most of their wisdom and much of their inquiry. But, I, wherever I desire, rule by these arts and dominate: namely, in the lights of heaven, in the trees, and in the herbs and in all the living things of the earth, and in the beasts and in the animals on the earth, and in the worms on the earth and under the earth. And who will resist me in my journeys? God created all things, whence in these arts I do no injury to him.[59]

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greatly tremble to speak or write to a master of masculine person the things which . . . I see in the true light" (Ego paupercula feminea forma, que doctrine magistrorum obedio et que uix litteras scripturarum cognosco, ualde formido ea, que . . . in uero lumine uideo, magistris uirilis persone dicere aut scribere). On this topic, see particularly Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine*, rev. ed. (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 1–4.

[57] *Expo. Euang.*, 30, p. 275: "*Sicut nouit me* in humanitate *pater*, id est diuinitas, *et ego agnosco patrem*, scilicet diuinitatem, *et animam meam*, uidelicet uitam qua eas suscitaui, pono in humano corpore *pro ouibus meis*."

[58] *Cause* 1.4–5, p. 21: "Deus autem integer ut rota permansit et pater in bonitate, quia paternitas ipsius bonitate ipsius plena est, et ita iustissima et benignissima et firmissima atque fortissima est paternitas, et de hac mensura sicut rota ponitur. Nunc alicubi rota est et ipsa alicuius rei plena est. Quod si rota illa nichil aliud preter exteriorem circulum haberet, uacua foret. Et si forte alienus superveniret et ibi operari vellet, hoc esse non posset; nam in rota una duo fabri res suas constituere non possunt. homo, aspice hominem! Homo enim celum et terram atque alias facturas in se habet et forma una est, et in ipso omnia latent. Sic paternitas est: quomodo circulus rote paternitas est plenitudo rote deitas est."

[59] *Vite mer.*, 5.6, p. 222: "De Mercurio et de aliis philosophis multa discam, qui sciscitatione sua elementa hoc modo iugabant, quod unamquamque rem quam uoluerunt, certis-

For Hildegard, witchcraft is the abuse of philosophy. Playing on the double identification of Mercury as planet and philosopher,[60] Hildegard claims that the ancient sages, having received some knowledge from God and some from devils, learned to manipulate nature through magical means.[61] But the divine voice responds to this image:

> Man is living on the wings of rationality . . . But you, o magical art, have a circle without a point. For when you make many inquiries in the circle of creation, creation itself will deprive you of honor and riches and will cast you like a stone into hell, for you stole the name of God for yourself.[62]

This phrase *circulum absque puncto* is immediately familiar as the reverse of the *punctum absque circulo* in her letter to Odo. Magic manipulates the effects of created things while denying their concomitant cause in God. Conversely, academic theologians like Gilbert acknowledge God but deny his concomitant identity with his divinity and paternity. All of them abuse their rationality.

Hildegard's "Scholastic" Works

In the letters and discourses already discussed, Hildegard attempts to demonstrate to the masters how they ought to conduct their scholarship.

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sime reperierunt. Hec fortissimi et sapientissimi uiri ex parte a Deo, et ex parte a malignis spiritibus adinuenerunt. Et quid hoc obfuit? Et sic se ipsos planetas nominauerunt, quoniam de sole et de luna et de stellis plurimam sapientiam ac multas inquisitiones acceperunt. Ego autem ubicumque uoluero, in artibus istis regno et dominor: scilicet in luminaribus celi, in arboribus et in herbis ac in omnibus uirentibus terre, et in bestiis et in animalibus super terram, ac in uermibus super terram et subtus terram. Et in itineribus meis quis mihi resistet? Deus omnia creauit: unde in artibus istis illi nullam iniuriam facio."

[60] That is, Hermes Trismegistus, the legendary author of the *Asclepius*, a text which was enjoying a considerable revival during this period. See Paolo Lucentini, "L'Asclepius ermetico nel secolo XII," in *From Athens to Chartres*, pp. 397–420. Hildegard may have had firsthand exposure to the *Asclepius*, as Dronke argues (see "Platonic-Christian Allegories," p. 383, n. 11).

[61] Imagining philosophers as magicians is not uncommon in the 12th century—there circulated, for example, a work reputedly by Plato but translated from the Arabic that was called the *Book of the Cow*; see David Pingree, "Plato's Hermetic Book of the Cow," in *Il Neoplatonismo nel rinascimento*, ed. Pietro Prini (Rome, 1993), pp. 133–45. A number of magical works attributed to Aristotle also circulated; see Charles Burnett, "Arabic, Greek and Latin Works on Astrological Magic attributed to Aristotle," in *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jill Kraye, William F. Ryan, and Charles B. Schmitt (London, 1986), pp. 84–96.

[62] *Vite mer.*, 5.7, p. 223: "Homo in pennis rationalitatis uitalis est, et omne uolatile ac reptile ex elementis uiuit et mouetur. Et homo sonum in rationalitate habet; reliqua autem creatura muta est, nec se ipsam nec alios iuuare potest, sed officium suum perficit. Tu autem, o ars magica, circulum absque puncto habes. Nam cum in circulo creature multas sciscitationes inquiris, ipsa creatura honorem et diuitias tibi abstrahet, et uelut lapidem in infernum proiciet te, quoniam ipsi nomen Dei sui abstulisti."

She does the same thing in some of her other works, where she adopts an overtly "scholastic mode" of pedagogy. For example, Eberhard, the bishop of Bamberg (d. 1170), requested that she comment upon (*exponere*) the following proposition: "In the Father abides eternity, in the Son equality, in the Holy Spirit the fastening of eternity and equality" (*In Patre manet eternitas, in Filio equalitas, in Spiritu Sancto eternitatis equalitatisque connexio*).[63] The idea behind this proposition, ultimately stemming from Augustine, was widely discussed among 12th-century theologians, like Thierry of Chartres and Peter Lombard.[64] The sentence presented by Eberhard, however, is the text of an antiphon,[65] and Eberhard is requesting nothing less than an *expositio* of it, precisely at a time in which commentaries on liturgical chants were becoming more popular.[66] Hildegard obliges him with a commentary equipped with a scholastic apparatus, including ordered *lemmata* from the text, questions and answers, and explanatory phrases like *hoc tale est*. Similarly, in a century in which academic theologians were fascinated with the so-called Athanasian Creed and composed many commentaries on it, Hildegard herself wrote a tractate exploring it.[67]

Above all, however, Hildegard's mastery of contemporary modes of scholarship can be seen in her *Expositiones Euangeliorum*. In form, these commentaries display a fairly radical discontinuity with the traditional monastic modes of Scripture commentary, which involved the quotation of a verse or pericope several sentences in length followed by detailed interpretation.[68] When Hildegard's older contemporaries Rupert of Deutz and Bernard of Clairvaux wrote biblical exegesis, they hewed closely to

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[63] *Epistolarium*, I, 31, p. 82.

[64] See Thierry of Chartres, *Lectiones in Boethii librum de Trinitate*, in *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, ed. Nikolaus Häring (Toronto, 1971), 3.10, and Peter Lombard, *Magistri Petri Lombardi Parisiensis episcopi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, vol. 1 (Grottaferrata, 1971), lib. 1, d. 31. The idea harks back to Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Joseph Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout, 1962), 1.5.5, p. 9. On the history of this idea, see Jean Châtillon, "*Unitas, aequalitas, concordia vel connexio*. Recherches sur les origines de la théorie thomiste des appropriations (Sum theol. I, q. 29, art. 7–8)," in *St. Thomas Aquinas. 1274–1974, Commemorative Studies*, ed. Armand Maurer, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1974), pp. 337–79.

[65] The antiphon, for the feast of the Blessed Trinity, dates from the 11th century or earlier, found, for example, in a St Gall *Antiphonarium* of the 10th or 11th century (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 390, fol. 104v) and thereafter in a large number of 12th-century manuscripts. It is listed in René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Corpus antiphonalium officii* (Rome, 1963–79), no. 3268. A large list of the manuscripts in which it is contained can be found in the database of the *Cantus* project at the University of Western Ontario, available online at http://bach.music.uwo.ca/cantus/ (accessed 25 August 2013).

[66] See Erika Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum. Medieval Sequence Commentaries and Prologues. Editions with Introductions* (Stockholm, 2006), pp. 7–24.

[67] *Expl. Symb.*, pp. 111–27, ll. 61–510. On commentaries on this creed, see Nikolaus Häring, "Commentaries on the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972), 208–52.

[68] *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 123–24.

this method. Hildegard, however, weaves her commentary into the biblical pericope, producing a single, integrated passage with two parallel narratives, which Beverly Kienzle has described as "intratextual glosses."[69] While Hildegard's discourses were composed for a monastic audience within a monastic milieu, her method closely resembles the *catena* commentary, a method of exposition employed in the schools of northern France in the 12th century by masters such as Bernard of Chartres and William of Conches for glossing ancient literary and philosophical texts, like Cicero's *Rhetorica*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Plato's *Timaeus*, and Boethius's *Consolatio*.[70] Contemporaries called this sort of gloss *continuative producta*, "drawn out in a continuous fashion," or as Häring explains it, combining the text commented upon, the commentator's own words, and the words of the source material into an integral whole.[71] This resemblance suggests that the investigator of Hildegard's method of glossing should look to 12th-century scholastic rather than monastic practice.

Hildegard was not the first exegete to apply this method of scholarship to a biblical text. A student of Bernard of Chartres and colleague of William of Conches, Gilbert of Poitiers himself employed precisely this method of exposition in his commentaries on the psalter, which were substantially completed before 1117 but did not circulate widely before 1140.[72] Theresa Gross-Diaz has demonstrated how Gilbert derived his method of

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[69] Ibid., p. 115.

[70] This style of commentary was also found in Germany, albeit less widely. The *Glossa coloniensis* on Macrobius (composed probably in the Rhineland, *c.*1100) offers a less developed example of this sort. Bernard of Chartres' *Glosae super Platonem* is, however, extant in three late 12th-century manuscripts of German provenance. See Peter Dronke, *The Spell of Calcidius: Platonic Concepts and Images in the Medieval West* (Florence, 2008), pp. 138–40.

[71] This phrase is used by Robert of Auxerre in his *Chronicon* MGH SS 26.237, and quoted by Nikolaus Häring, "Commentary and Hermeneutics," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert Benson and Giles Constable with Carol Lanham, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 26 (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 180–81. See below for an example of this type of commentary.

[72] On this commentary, see the monograph by Theresa Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers: From* Lectio Divina *to the Lecture Room* (Leiden, 1996). It has never been fully edited. In 1930 Maria Fontana edited the prologue and the commentary on the first three psalms, in "Il commento ai Salmi di Gilberto della Porrée," *Logos* 13 (1930): 283–301. In 1963 Ada Pagliari edited the prologue again, in "Il presunto commento ai Salmi di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani opera di Gilberto Porretano," *Aevum* 36 (1962): 414–29. Several brief selections are also printed in Gross-Diaz's monograph. The numerous manuscripts of the commentary are listed in Nikolaus Häring, "Handschriftliches zu den Werken Gilberts Bischof von Poitiers," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8 (1978): 133–94, supplemented by Gross-Diaz, ibid., pp. 160–80.

commentary from contemporary scholarship on the liberal arts.[73] Examine, for example, Hildegard's gloss on Matthew 2:13 with Gilbert's gloss on part of Psalm 1:1, "Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners." Hildegard writes:

> *An angel of the Lord*, that is the admonition of the Holy Spirit, *appeared* by admonishing *in sleep*, that is, secretly, *to Joseph*, namely to man, *saying*: *Arise* in understanding *and take the child*, namely knowledge, *and his mother*, namely the matter of good works, *and fly*, that is descend, *into Egypt*, namely into this affliction, that you right your transgressions, *and be there until I shall tell thee*, namely until God shows his grace to you.[74]

Gilbert writes in comparison:

> *Who hath not walked*, that is, he has not left the Lord into the region of the desert, in which the lost sheep wandered. *He hath not walked* with unjust thought, that is he did not sin by will per se, which is praiseworthy; he did not sin, I repeat, although placed *in the counsel* of many sinners, that is, although many suggest it would be more praiseworthy. It continues: *and on the path of sinners*, that is, by perverse action which leads to death, *he hath not stood*, that is, he has not sinned in deed.[75]

While Gilbert in the gloss does not utilize parallel narratives like Hildegard, he does share with her an integrated, "intratextual" method of commentary, in which the movement back and forth between *lemma* and gloss proceeds rapidly, sometimes abruptly with no lexical cue, sometimes signaled by words like *scilicet* or phrases like *id est*. In fact, although

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[73] Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary*, pp. 41–42: "Donatus, Priscian, Boethius, Macrobius—all the stars in the liberal arts constellation are to be found in company with their expositions in the exact same format utilized in Gilbert's commentary . . . Gilbert was without doubt accustomed to similar presentations of the commented classics, it is not at all surprising that he hit upon the idea of using the *cum textu* format for a schoolroom commentary on the Psalms."

[74] *Expo. Euang.*, 11, p. 217: "*Angelus Domini*, id est admonitio Spiritus Sancti, *apparuit* admonendo *in somnis*, id est secreto, *Ioseph*, scilicet homini, *dicens: Surge* in intellectu *et accipe puerum*, scilicet scientiam, *et matrem eius*, uidelicet materiam bonorum operum, *et fuge*, id est descende, *in Egyptum*, scilicet in hanc afflictionem, ut peccata tua corrigas, *et esto ibi usque dum dicam tibi*, uidelicet dum Deus gratiam suam tibi ostendat." The translation of the biblical phrases is taken from the Douay-Rheims translation.

[75] Gilbert of Poitiers, *Glose super psalterium* 126–132 (ed. Fontana, "Il commento di Gilberto della Porrée," p. 287), "*Qui non abiit*, id est non recessit a domino in regionem deserti, in quo ovis perdita erravit. Non abiit iniqua cogitatione, id est non peccavit voluntate per se, quod est laudabile, non, inquam, quamvis positus *in consilio* et multorum peccatorum, id est quamvis multi hoc suggererent quod laudabilius est. Sequitur *et in via peccatorum*, id est prava operatione quae ducit ad mortem, *non stetit*, id est non peccavit opere." I have regularized word divisions and corrected incorrect identifications of *lemmata* in Fontana's text.

the Psalms are generally not narrative texts, Gilbert does occasionally utilize parallel narratives, in a manner analogous (though not identical) to that of Hildegard. For example, in his commentary on the third psalm, he compares it to a drama in which the speaker is reason, instead of David, who inveighs against animal nature, instead of Absalom. The vices speak as characters, and the enemies surrounding reason are temptations.[76] It is not impossible that Hildegard herself was exposed at some point to Gilbert's commentary; it circulated widely in the second half of the 12th century, including in the diocese of Trier, and garnered a certain amount of discussion in religious houses.[77] The text's availability, however, does not explain Hildegard's curious and unconventional choice of exegetical method. Rather, by using this novel technique of scriptural exegesis, the *magistra* wants to show the *magistri* how they should undertake biblical commentary and to demonstrate to her religious audience the potential of the new methods. In her letter to Odo of Paris, Hildegard wrote, "Thus, you, o master, in your mastership (*magistratio*) in the Scriptures you have many streams which sometimes you disperse among others, that is among the great and the lowly."[78] In the *Expositiones*, Hildegard shows how this can be done even in a contemporary scholastic setting.

The Context of 12th-Century Anti-Scholasticism

Hildegard's connection to the schools runs far deeper than just sources and methods. The range of her intellectual preoccupations—Trinitarian

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[76] Ibid., 545–560, p. 297: "Item est alio lectio secundum quam in uno homine simul sunt David et Absalon, Christus et Iudas, id est ratio et animalis natura quae rationem impugnat. Loquitur autem unusquisque qui a viciis et cupiditatibus impugnatur. Ibi incipe, *dicunt* vicia, quia coacervatione vitiorum subrepit desparatio salutis, quasi viciis insultantibus animae vel etiam diabolo et angelis eius per suggestiones. *Tu autem es susceptor* in Christo, *gloria mea*; nihil tribuo mihi, *exaltans caput meum* Christum vel mentem, quae servit legi domini. *Ego dormivi et soporatus sum* morte peccatorum, *exurrexi* dono regenerationis. *Non timebo milia populi circundatis me*, id est temptationes. *Percussisti omnes adversantes*. Recte hoc de diabolo et angelis dicitur in praedestinatione secundum hoc quod futurum est. *Dentes peccatorum contrivisti*, maledicos et viciorum auctores. *Domini est salus*, cavenda superbia est. *Et super populum*, id est super unumquemque nostrum sit *benedictio tua*."

[77] See Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary*, pp. 28–29. There is a late 12th-century copy from the Cistercian abbey at Himmerod, a daughterhouse of Clairvaux founded by St Bernard in 1134, in the diocese of Trier, now in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. Fol. 751; see Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary*, p. 161.

[78] *Epistolarium*, I, 40R, p. 103: "Et sic, o tu magister, in magistratione multos riuulos in scripturis habes quos inter alio interdum spargis, scilicet inter magnos et paruos."

theology, Genesis and the cosmogony, elemental cosmology, microcosmic physiology, and humoral medicine[79]—are entirely of a piece with the preoccupations of early 12th-century scholars like William of Conches, Thierry of Chartres, and Peter Abelard. Further still, Hildegard shares with these scholars a fascination with the role of human reason in moral decision-making, cosmological speculation, and theology.[80] In this respect, her *oeuvre* bears a striking similarity to that of her contemporary, the monastic theologian William of St Thierry. As a student of Anselm of Laon, and perhaps an acquaintance of Abelard,[81] as an abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St Thierry,[82] as a simple Cistercian at Signy, and as an interlocutor and spiritual confrère of St Bernard, he occupies a central place in the upheavals of the 12th century. He was the first to raise the objections against Abelard that led to his trial at the council of Sens, in his *Disputatio contra Petrum Abaelardum*; he also wrote a polemic against William of Conches, *De erroribus Guillelmi de Conchis*, shortly after his successful offensive against Abelard.[83] Like Hildegard, William wrote both works of biblical exegesis and academic physiology, incorporating the latest advances of the new learning.[84] He was also, like her, deeply concerned

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[79] On Hildegard's cosmogony and its relation to its 12th-century context, see Newman, *Sister of Wisdom*, pp. 64–71. On Hildegard's microcosmism, see Regine Kather, "Vollendetes Kunstwerk Gottes. Das kosmische Weltbild Hildegards von Bingen," in *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten*, pp. 198–210. On her humoral medicine, especially as connected to her cosmology, see Florence Eliza Glaze, "Medical Writer: 'Behold the Human Creature,'" in *Voice*, pp. 125–48.

[80] See Fabio Chávez Alvarez, *"Die brennende Vernunft": Studien zur Semantik der "rationalitas" bei Hildegard von Bingen* (Stuttgart, 1991).

[81] Jean Marie Déchanet, *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry: L'homme et son oeuvre* (Bruges, 1942), pp. 9–17. Déchanet's opinion has been disputed by Ludo Milis, "William of St. Thierry, His Birth, His Formation, and His First Monastic Experiences," in *William, Abbot of St. Thierry: A Colloquium at the Abbey of St. Thierry*, Cistercian Studies 94 (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 20–23.

[82] For William's importance to the non-Cistercian Benedictine reforms in the 12th century, see Stanislaus Ceglar, "William of Saint Thierry and his Leading Role at the First Chapters of the Benedictine Abbots (Reims 1131, Soissons 1132)," in *William, Abbot of St. Thierry*, pp. 34–40. For his role in the Cluny-Cîteaux polemic, see Adriaan H. Bredero, "William of Saint Thierry at the Crossroads of the Monastic Currents of his Time," in *William, Abbot of St. Thierry*, pp. 113–37.

[83] See also Piero Zerbi, "William of Saint Thierry and his Dispute with Abelard," in *William, Abbot of St. Thierry*, pp. 181–203; Jean Châtillon, "William of Saint Thierry, Monasticism, and the Schools: Rupert of Deutz, Abelard and William of Conches," in *William, Abbot of St. Thierry*, pp. 169–73; and Paul Dutton, *The Mystery of the Missing Heresy Trial of William of Conches*, Gilson Lectures 26 (Toronto, 2006).

[84] His *De natura corporis et animae*, composed after 1135, includes the latest advances in physiology, including material derived from Arabic sources from the *Pantegni*. See most recently, Svenja Gröne, "Le premier écrit scientifique cistercien: le *De natura corporis* de

with the role of reason with respect to faith in theological inquiry, devoting two treatises and two polemical letters to the topic.[85] For Bernard and William, the notion of the *ratio fidei* was crucial to safeguard Christian doctrine against the theological novelties of the schools.[86] Examining William's concept of *ratio* with Hildegard's *racionalitas* will cast her attitude towards contemporary theology in sharper relief.

In his *De erroribus*, William lays out a deep connection between reason, love, and faith. Mere human reason by itself is insufficient and potentially dangerous, and therefore must be conformed to divine love and truth "through illuminating grace." Without these, reason conforms God to itself.[87] In contrast to *ratio humana*, William juxtaposes *ratio fidei*, which has its origin in faith and is bound to the service of faith:

> *Ratio fidei* places all human reason after faith; it takes it captive and brings it into service of faith; it does not disregard the boundaries of the faith itself, which our fathers have established; and it does not pass beyond them into something else.[88]

Reason must respect the boundaries traditionally established for it and not go beyond them. Faith itself does not establish the boundaries of reason; they are rather set by *auctoritas* of the Fathers. This part of the definition places reason firmly within the context of monastic learning, where education consisted in the patient working out of *auctores*, interpreting them according to the *regula fidei* and the *regula caritatis* but remaining in a reverential submission to the text:[89]

Guillaume de Saint-Thierry (†1148)," *Rives méditerranéennes* [Online] 31 (2008). http://rives.revues.org/3943 (accessed 25 August 2013).

[85] These are published in *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera Omnia*, ed. Paul Verdeyen, CCCM 89A (Turnhout, 2007). On William's critique of the schools in general, see the discussion by Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins*, pp. 71–77. Also of interest regarding William's views on faith and reason is the recent monograph by Mariano Ruiz Campos, *'Ego et Pater unum sumus': el misterio de la Trinidad en Guillermo de Saint-Thierry* (Rome, 2007), especially pp. 333–35.

[86] See Klaus Riesenhuber, "Der Streit um die *ratio* in der Frühscholastik," in *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter?*, eds. Jan Aertsen and Andreas Speer, Miscellanea Mediaevalia 26 (Berlin, 1998), pp. 460–67.

[87] William of St Thierry, *De erroribus*, pp. 57–60: "per illuminantem gratiam format veritas tua, et amor tuus in ratione hominis, quam conformat sibi, ut in ipso intelligam, quam nullus sit intellectus omnis humanus, quem de te per se humana ratio format sibi."

[88] Ibid., pp. 68–72: "Ratio autem fidei est omnem rationem humanam fidei postponere, vel in obsequium fidei captivatam redigere; terminos fidei ipsius, quos posuerunt patres nostri, non ignorare, nec in aliquo eos praeterire."

[89] See Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, chapters 5 and 7.

> As, when we speak of God, we cleave to the form not only of a sound faith, but of sound words in faith, just as this philosopher of ours loves to speak of his own philosophers, so too let us say whatever we say from the Fathers, our guides and teachers, expounding their meaning in their own words, following their footsteps, presuming nothing of ourselves. For it is dangerous in the extreme to be daring in matters such as these, except where either evident authority sanctions or the manifest *ratio fidei* leads.[90]

Human reason has no right or privilege to go beyond what the *ratio fidei* deduces or what *auctoritas* supports; if it does, it becomes "unsound and heretical" (*insanum atque haereticum*).[91]

At the same time, while recognizing its dangers, William and Bernard have an exalted view of human reason. With memory and will, it is the "created trinity" (*creata trinitas*) mirroring the "creating Trinity" (*trinitas creatrix*) of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[92] Thus, William of St Thierry's critique of William of Conches (and, by extension, most of the scholastic enterprise) centers around a misuse of reason. Reason must not be applied to undermine the truths of Sacred Scripture, of which William of Conches stands accused in his explanation of the creation of Eve; it must not be used to probe mysteries which God has veiled to man; and above all, it must not be used outside of its traditional context to fashion "vanities of new things" (*novitatum vanitates*).[93] In short, the scholastic is able to claim no *auctoritas* for himself.

Despite the very real risk of oversimplification, it is nonetheless useful to treat these ideas as representative of the monastic tradition of opposition to the schools, as outlined by Leclercq. He offers several different fronts on which monastic thought, taken as a whole, finds fault with scholasticism: its prioritizing of activity over contemplation, the obsession with education at the cost of prayer, the dominance accorded to dialectic, the

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[90] William of St Thierry, *De erroribus*, pp. 61–68: "Ut autem cum de Deo loquimur, formam non solum sanae fidei, sed et sanorum in fide verborum teneamus, sicut philosophus hic noster [William of Conches] loqui amat ex philosophis suis; sic et nos loquamur quidquid loquemur ex Patribus, et doctoribus et ductoribus nostris, ipsis eorum verbis sensus eorum afferentes, vestigiis eorum inhaerentes, nil de nobis praesumentes. Periculosum enim nimis est audere in talibus, nisi ubi vel evidens tuetur auctoritas, vel manifesta ducit ratio fidei."

[91] Ibid., p. 82.

[92] Both William and Bernard use this psychological ternarity as an *imago* of the Trinity. See Alvarez, "*Die brennende Vernunft*," pp. 109–13. These phrases come from Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diversis* 45.6, *Opera omnia*, eds. Jean Leclercq, Charles H. Talbot, and Henri M. Rochais, vol. 3 (Rome, 1970), p. 265: "Est trinitas creatrix: Pater et Filius et Spritus Sanctus, ex cecidit creata trinitas: memoria, ratio et voluntas."

[93] William of St Thierry, *De erroribus*, pp. 11–12.

violation of traditional boundaries, and its pride and love of novelty.[94] In short, the monks and nuns held that

> ...theological research was approaching the dangerous point at which it might escape the limits set by faith. In trying to submit God's mysteries to reason, one could be tempted to forget their transcendency and yield to a kind of naturalism.[95]

The kinship between this view and the thoughts expressed in the *De erroribus* are obvious and overwhelming: the respect for tradition, concern about novelty, and the preeminent place of faith in rational understanding. These themes render William of St Thierry's thought as typical of monastic opposition to the schools, as Leclercq has argued.[96]

Hildegard's Idea of Rationality

Hildegard shares with William and other monastic authors a profound interest in the proper role and scope of human reason. In her letter to the five abbots of Bellevaux, Cherlieu, Clairefontaine, La-Charité, and Bithaine (*c.*1157), Hildegard explains the dual nature of *racionalitas*:

> For God gave rationality to man. For through the word of God man is rational. An irrational creature, however, is like a sound. So in man God established all creation. But to rationality he granted two wings, of which the right signifies good knowledge, and the left evil. By these man is like a bird.[97]

Both the wings are necessary for man to fly to wisdom, as Hildegard explains in another letter, but the wing of evil knowledge must minister to the wing of good knowledge.[98] Likewise, in the *Liber diuinorum operum*,

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[94] Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 193–297.

[95] Ibid., p. 208.

[96] Ibid., p. 208. A reevaluation of the relationship between school and cloister in the 12th and 13th centuries is currently taking place. In a recent article, Brian Noell surveys this change, concluding that at the very least a modified version of the Leclercq thesis is still generally accepted; see "Scholarship and Activism at Cîteaux in the Age of Innocent III," *Viator* 28 (2007): 21–23. For a contrary view, see Thomas Head, "'Monastic' and 'Scholastic' Theology: A Change of Paradigm?" in *Paradigms in Medieval Thought*, eds. Nancy van Deusen and Alvin E. Ford (Lewiston, Pa., 1990), pp. 127–37.

[97] *Epistolarium*, I, 70R, p. 155: "Deus enim rationalitatem homini dedit. Nam per uerbum Dei homo rationalis est. Irrationalis autem creatura uelut sonus est. Sic Deus omnem creaturam in homine constituit. Sed rationalitati duas alas dedit, quarum dextera ala bonam scientiam, sinistra autem malam scientiam significat. In his homo est volatilis sit."

[98] Ibid., II, 103R, p. 263 (to Guibert of Gembloux), "Sic etiam homo cum duabus alis rationalitatis, scilicet cum scientia boni et mali, uolat. Dextera ala scientia bona est et

rationality has two eyes, one looking to heaven and one to hell.[99] While recognizing the ambivalence of rationality in humans, Hildegard assigns it a central place in her theology, not only as a created human *imago* of the Trinity but also as a proper characteristic of the divine Persons.[100] All the more distressing, then, is what happens when reason goes astray, and for Hildegard this was precisely the problem with the proposition put forward by Master Odo.

In the *Expositiones*, a work composed, as I have argued, for a monastic audience in response to scholastic exegesis, Hildegard most fully develops her critique of scholastic reason. She believes that human reason can lead men to consider the commandments of God.[101] Like William, she stresses the role that divine illumination plays in our knowledge.[102] Reason by itself is insufficient: it is only the starting point of a good undertaking, after which divine inspiration is needed.[103] *Expositio* 12 puts this in terms of the story of the Epiphany (Mt. 2:1–12): the Magi are the Jews and pagans, and they are granted to see God "on account of their rationality,"[104] because they "were created and inspired by God, since all wisdom is from the Lord God."[105] But Hildegard leaves *racionalitas* in an ambiguous position, capable of good and evil; for "rationality in the angel [i.e. Satan] contradicted God."[106]

To arrive at the good, reason in humans must apply itself to faith and the Scriptures. In countering the temptations of Satan (Mt. 4:4), Christ,

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sinistra mala scientia est, et mala bone ministrat bonaque per malam acuitur et regitur, atque in cunctis per illam sapiens efficitur."

[99] *Diu. operum* 1.4.45, p. 179: "Homo namque, fiducialem spem per animam ad Deum extendens, cum duobus oculis racionalitatis, scilicet scientia boni et mali, celestem patriam et penas inferni cognoscit; quia facie sua, que per mentum eleuatur, quamlibet rem uisibilem conspicit et qualis illa sit per intellectum considerat."

[100] See Alvarez, "*Die brennende Vernunft*," pp. 135–95.

[101] *Expo. Euang.*, 7, p. 206, ll. 19–20: "ita ut cum ea [racionalitate] discerneret, ubi preceptum Dei audire debet."

[102] Ibid., 9, pp. 209–15, *passim*.

[103] Ibid., 2, pp. 191–92: "*Scio* in racionalitate *quid faciam*, quia inicium inceptionis boni tam uelox iter in racionalitate habet, ut etiam necessarium sit quod homo in depressione se contineat, ut Paulo apostolo contigit, *ut cum amotus fuero* per diuinam inspirationem *a uillicatione*, scilicet a mala consuetudine mea, *recipiant me* boni et iusti homines *in domos suas*, id est in consorcium suum, qui etiam prius peccauerunt et postea penitentiam egerunt."

[104] Ibid., 12, p. 221, l. 44: "propter rationalitatem Deum uidentes."

[105] Ibid., 12, pp. 219–20, ll. 8–9: "*Ecce magi* id est, pagani et Iudei, qui sciscatores rerum in scientia boni et mali erant, *ab oriente*, hoc est, a Deo creati et inspirati, quoniam omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est."

[106] Ibid., 9, p. 210, ll. 16–17: "Deus angelum racionalem fecit; sed quod racionalitas Deum in angelo contradixit, ipse non fecit sed fieri permisit."

"by the fact that he has recourse to the Scriptures, brings men back to rationality, because rationality in men finds the Scriptures, such that they may know God through rationality just as through the Scriptures."[107] In *Expositio* 15, based on the episode of the child Jesus in the temple (Lk. 2:42–52), Hildegard sets up a parallel narrative in which Christ represents *racionalitas*, Jerusalem equals faith, Mary is wisdom, Joseph the *admonitio* of the Holy Spirit, and the temple good works. Reason makes a journey to faith, accompanied by wisdom and the *admonitio* of the Holy Spirit. Reason then remains in faith and stores up a treasure in itself, for the performance of good works, for "man is rational, he receives faith, and has also the will to do good."[108] Here Hildegard links reason and will (in the usual terminology, two intellectual powers) with faith. The order in which she lists them is significant. Man starts with reason as a natural power, which is naturally acquired.[109] Adding to reason, he takes up the supernatural gift of faith, and together they produce a good will for activity. In the end of the exposition, *racionalitas* rejoins wisdom and *admonitio*, and embarks on a life of righteousness before God and open performance of good works.

Expositio 23, based on the parable of the laborers in the vineyard (Mt. 23:1–16), offers further depth to Hildegard's analysis. In this exposition, the master of the vineyard represents *racionalitas*, the laborers the five senses, the wages the hope of life, and the vineyard the faith of the salvation of souls. Reason, in the early morning—that is, in its first sensible knowledge—leaves its home in the sensible world, wishing to send the senses into faith, promising in payment the hope of life. Reason then orders the senses to go into faith through good works.[110] When the good work is completed, reason calls the senses to receive their reward. Here, following the biblical phrase *dominus uineae*, Hildegard speaks of

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[107] Ibid., 24, pp. 254–55, ll. 79–82: "quod scripturas inducit, per hoc homines ad racionalitatem reducit, quia racionalitas in hominibus scripturas inuenit, ut ita per racionalitatem uelut per scripturas Deum cognoscant."

[108] Ibid., 15, p. 229, ll. 25–26: "homo racionalis est et fidem suscepit, et etiam uoluntatem bonum operandi habet."

[109] Hildegard makes this clear at the beginning of this exposition, when she speaks of *etas intelligibilis*, at which time reason becomes operative. Cf. *Expo. Euang.*, 15, p. 228, ll. 2–3.

[110] Ibid., 23, p. 249, ll. 1–5: "*Simile est regnum celorum*, id est omnis compago in homine, *homini patrifamilias*, scilicet racionalitas quae in homine est, *qui exiit primo mane*, uidelicet in scientia sensibilitatis, *conducere operarios*, id est quinque sensus corporis, i*n uineam suam*, scilicet in fidem saluationis animarum. *Conuentione autem facta cum operariis ex denario diurno*, id est quod racionalitas quinque sensibus spem uitae, quam semper habituri sunt, promittit, *misit eos in uineam suam*, scilicet in fidem saluationis animarum."

the master as the "rationality of the faith of the salvation of souls" (*racionalitas fidei saluationis animarum*), thereby making clear that the reason she has been speaking of throughout this exposition, which goes out from the knowledge of the sensible world, is the reason of faith.[111] Reason thus has a certain proprietorship of faith, and at the same time has faith as an end or goal. Her conclusion to this *Expositio* further clarifies what she means by *racionalitas fidei*. Many use their reason, operating through their senses, to seek out God, but few do so without "murmuring against the established norms and traditions of the Church."[112] A look at the biblical context makes this comment yet more revealing. In the biblical text, the one who is being "murmured" against is the master of the vineyard himself, that is, the *racionalitas fidei saluationis animarum*. Thus, Hildegard suggests some sort of equivalence between that reason and the *institutiones et ordinationes ecclesiasticae.* Sacred tradition is the rationality of the faith of the salvation of souls. Whatever Hildegard means by *racionalitas*, she does not view it as autonomous and independent of faith and sacred *auctoritas*.

These two expositions just discussed have concentrated on reason properly used; the third focuses on reason gone astray. *Expositio* 30, based on the discourse on the Good Shepherd (Jn. 10:11–16), glosses the shepherd as the creator, the sheep as the chosen, the hireling as the devil, the sheepfold as the *congregatio in fide*, and the wolf as *racionalitas*. The wolf, approaching the sheepfold of the faith, is rationality "when rationality has become a wolf in wicked men, since it contradicts the Lord in the knowledge of good and evil."[113] For Hildegard, reason is dangerous in the wicked, since it uses the knowledge of good and of evil not to seek, but to contradict God. Contradiction is a key concept for Hildegard: it is the nothingness that exists apart from God,[114] as well as the hallmark of heretics.[115] Thus, she seems to be drawing obliquely on the traditional identification of the wolf in this passage with the heretics and their father

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[111] Ibid., 23, p. 250, ll. 27–28.

[112] Ibid., 23, p. 251, ll. 69–73: "*Multi enim sunt uocati*, cum racionalitas quinque sensus hominis ad iustitiam Dei conducit: *pauci uero electi*, quia rari inueniuntur qui non murmurent contra institutiones et ordinationes ecclesiasticas, sed tamen et hi et illi denarium, uidelicet spem remunerationis, quamuis diuerso modo recipient."

[113] Ibid., 30, p. 274, ll. 9–11: "cum racionalitas in malis hominibus lupus facta est, quoniam in scientia boni et mali Domino contradicit."

[114] Ibid., 9, p. 210, ll. 15–16: "*factum est nichil* quod est contradictio."

[115] Ibid., 55, p. 325; 58, p. 332.

Satan.[116] Hildegard continues, discussing how the wolf, glossed here as "rationality converted to the morals of the brothel,"[117] snatches away *bona scientia*. Reason led astray falls into perverse works, just as right reason led to good works. And just as right reason led to the knowledge of the good, perverse reason takes away that knowledge, leaving man with nothing but *scientia mali*, in which he sins. The Church is the sheepfold, while *racionalitas* is here conceived as an outside force threatening to snatch away the faithful and ultimately devour them. This exposition offers the reverse of *Expositio* 23: there, *racionalitas* was equated with the *institutiones et ordinationes ecclesiasticae*, while here wolfish reason is the deadly enemy of the Church, the flock of faith.

From these three expositions, a coherent system of reason and faith emerges. This account is strikingly similar to that offered by William of St Thierry in his *De erroribus*. Hildegard, like William, holds that reason must be put into the service of faith, and when it moves beyond faith, it becomes dangerous. Moreover, she speaks of a *racionalitas fidei* whose goal is knowing and seeing God. Again, like William, she teaches that reason must be put in the service of *auctoritas*, so as to avoid contradiction of God.[118] Similarly, she sees the connection between perverse reason and heresy. Finally, she strongly affirms that reason must produce a virtuous disposition and works of charity, as do William, Bernard, and most other monastic writers.[119]

Hildegard, Visionary Critic of the Schools

In the *Scivias*, God justifies his revelations to Hildegard on the basis that the masters have neglected the books of the Fathers and thereby have failed to open up the mysteries of Scripture:

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[116] See Ambrose, *Explanatio psalmi CXVIII*, ed. Michael Petschenig (Vienna, 1913) 6.16, p. 116; ibid., *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, CCSL 14 (Turnhout, 1957) 7.49, p. 230; Augustine, *Sermo 138*, PL 38:764.4; Quodvultdeus, *Sermo* 6, ed. René Braun, CCSL 60 (Turnhout, 1976), 5.7.1, p. 405; Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium* (Tübingen, 1925), 25, p. 105; Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Mattheaum*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, CCCM 174–174A (Turnhout, 2003), 2, p. 212; and Rupert of Deutz, *Commentaria in evangelium Sancti Iohannis*, ed. Rhaban Haacke, CCCM 9 (Turnhout, 1969), 9, p. 524.

[117] *Expo. Euang.*, 30, p. 274, ll. 14–16: "*Et lupus*, id est racionalitas in lupanares mores uersa, *rapit* bonam scientiam *et dispergit oues*, dissipando eas in peruersitate."

[118] William in fact refers to William of Conches and Abelard as *contradictores* (William of St Thierry, *De erroribus*, p. 56).

[119] See Ferruolo, *The Origins*, pp. 47–92; and Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, pp. 270–77.

> Now the Catholic faith totters amid the people and the gospel limps among those same men. Even the mightiest tomes which the most renowned doctors expounded with much zeal waste away in shameful neglect and the food of the life of the divine Scriptures has already grown tepid. Whence now I speak, not through one speaking of the Scriptures, nor one learned from an earthly master, but I who am speak through that one new secrets and many mysteries which until now have lay hidden in these tomes.[120]

In this vision, from Hildegard's earliest work, she sees her own visionary activity as a response to the failures of the schools—their pride and disdain for the traditional authorities, their disgraceful neglect of sacred Scripture—and many of her subsequent writings (the *Expositiones*, the *Liber diuinorum operum*, the *Cause et cure*) put this mission into practice.

Hildegard is a deep and difficult thinker. Her writings are capable of sustaining a great number of readings. Nonetheless, in her correspondence with the masters and in her *Expositiones*, one can discern a real consistency in her language and thought on the relationship between reason and faith. This notion of reason places Hildegard in a broader tradition of monastic opposition to the methods and the doctrines of the new scholasticism. Hildegard's involvement in the 12th-century debate about the Cathar heresy has already been well documented.[121] The foregoing analysis suggests that she should also be considered among the great 12th-century critics of the schools, articulating within a monastic, Benedictine context a vision of reason in sharp contrast with the sort of reason championed by the masters of the schools of the 12th century.

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[120] *Scivias* 3.11, pp. 381–89: "Sed nunc catholica fides in populis uacillat et euangelium in eisdem hominibus claudicat, fortissima etiam uolumina quae probatissimi doctores multo studio enucleauerant in turpi taedio diffluunt et cibus uitae diuinarum Scripturarum iam tepefactus est: unde nunc loquor per non loquentem hominem de Scripturis, nec edoctum de terreno magistro, sed ego qui sum dico per eum noua secreta et multa mystica quae hactenus in uoluminibus latuerunt."

[121] The essays by Beverly Kienzle have amply documented Hildegard's preaching against the Cathars. See most recently "Crisis and Charismatic Authority in Hildegard of Bingen's Preaching against the Cathars," in *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Preaching, 1200–1600*, eds. Miri Rubin and Katherine Jansen (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 73–91, and *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 245–88.

INTERTEXTUALITY IN HILDEGARD'S WORKS: EZEKIEL AND THE CLAIM TO PROPHETIC AUTHORITY

Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Travis A. Stevens

Introduction

Hildegard of Bingen's *opera* demonstrate a remarkable organic unity in thought and language, such that the analysis of intertextuality—charting various words, concepts, images, and related themes across the *magistra*'s works—opens a fruitful avenue for comprehending her entire allegorical universe. Hildegard's works constitute a vast exegetical corpus that grounds its authority on visionary understanding inspired by the prophets, evangelists, and apostles. Among the prophetic writings, the book of Ezekiel stands out in the *magistra*'s claim to authority, and in the imagery that inspires her and connects word and thought across her *opera*.

This essay explores Hildegard's interpretation of Ezekiel in various works where she draws on the prophet's book to develop her imagery and theology. We first consider Hildegard's use of Ezekiel's words to enhance her claim to prophetic authority. Next we explore the *magistra*'s exegesis of two key passages in the prophet's book: the four creatures, and the wheels within which the creatures appear (Ezek. 1 and 10). Patristic exegetes unraveled the significance of the four animals and the wheels, and this study examines which aspects of Hildegard's exegesis have precedent in patristic commentators. Finally, we investigate how these Hildegardian motifs relate to the images highlighted in 12th-century visual culture, notably in manuscript illuminations of the book of Ezekiel.

Hildegard's Visionary Authority and Ezekiel

Hildegard establishes a link to Ezekiel and a basis for her authority at the outset of her three visionary works (*Scivias*, *Liber vite meritorum*, and *Liber diuinorum operum*) when she follows the prophet's rhetorical paradigm for dating the reception of her visions. She begins the three treatises with the "prophetic *Et*," which indicates the continuity of revelation, as Gregory the Great had explained in his *Homilies on Ezekiel* when

commenting on the prophet's opening discourse.[1] Moreover, in *Scivias*, the *magistra* cites the prophet six times. The voice of God, conveyed by Hildegard, speaks of "my servant" Ezekiel three times and refers to his prophetic revelation as many times, whether as simply "showing" or "mystical vision" or "speaking in God's spirit with mystical signification." The *magistra* echoes the warnings the prophet uttered against sinful humanity from what he saw with his *mystica visione*.[2] She bolsters her own claim to prophetic authority as God's voice implicitly compares her and her message to the prophet.

In the *magistra*'s second visionary work, *Liber vite meritorum*, she names the prophet twice, and in the third, the *Liber diuinorum operum*, not at all. A survey of her works beyond the three treatises shows that the seer names the prophet in her letters and in the *Expositiones euangeliorum*, but not in her other writings. Nonetheless, the image of the wheel, whose theological meanings often echo her exegesis of Ezekiel's vision, appears in the *Liber diuinorum operum*, as well as in the *De regula Sancti Benedicti*, the *Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii*, the *Symphonia*, and the *Cause et cure*. The wheel denotes a range of meanings, which will be studied below, from the workings of the human body, at times related to the divine, to the place of the human being in the cosmos and the human's relationship to the Trinity.[3]

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[1] *Scivias*, pp. 3–4; *Vite mer.*, pp. 8–9; *Diu. operum*, pp. 45–46. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, CCSL 142 (Turnhout, 1971), 1.2.2, p. 17, ll. 21–36, at 21–22, 24–30, and 32–36: "*Et* namque sermo coniunctionis est, et scimus quia non coniungitur sermo subsequens nisi sermoni praecedenti. . . . Qua in re intuendum est quia sicut nos corporalia, sic prophetae sensus spiritalia aspiciunt, eisque et illa sunt praesentia quae nostrae ignorantiae absentia uidentur. Vnde fit ut in mente prophetarum ita coniuncta sint exterioribus interiora, quatenus simul utraque uideant, simulque in eis fiat et intus uerbum quod audiunt, et foras quod dicunt. . . . Quia hoc uerbum quod foris protulit illi uerbo quod intus audierat coniunxit. Continuauit ergo uerba quae protulit uisioni intimae, et idcirco incipit dicens: *Et factum est*. Subiungit enim hoc quod exterius loqui inchoat, ac si et illud foris sit quod intus uidet." See Peter Dronke, "Introduction," in *Diu. operum*, pp. xxxv–xxxvi; Christel Meier, "Prophetentum als literarische Existenz: Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179); ein Portrait," in *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen*, 1: *Vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gisela Brinker-Gabler (Munich, 1988), pp. 76–87; Christel Meier, "Ildegarde di Bingen: Profezia ed esistenza letteraria," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 17 (1996): 271–303.

[2] *Scivias* 1.2, p. 17, ll. 189–90; *Scivias* 1.4, p. 75, ll. 477–79; *Scivias* 1.5, pp. 97–98, ll. 138–39; *Scivias* 2.4, p. 170, ll. 403–04: "ut in mystica uisione sua Ezekiel dicit." *Scivias* 2.7, p. 313, ll. 212–15; *Scivias* 3.1, p. 343, ll. 526–27; *Scivias* 3.1, p. 344, ll. 561–62: "sicut etiam idem Ezekiel in spiritu meo regi Tyri sub mystica significatione dicit: 'Omnes qui uiderint te in gentibus obstupescent super te.'"

[3] There do not seem to be any echoes of the Boethian wheel here. Peter Dronke identifies two echoes of Boethius in the *Diu. operum*, but they do not involve the wheel, *Diu. operum* 1.2.39, p. 106, l. 19, and 3.5.8, p. 419, ll. 76–78.

Hildegard employs not only the image of the wheels or the "wheel within a wheel," she refers as well to the four creatures, which are described in Ezekiel in three ways: animals seated around the throne of Yahweh (Ezek. 1:10–11, 43); a tetramorph with the faces of a man, a lion, an eagle, and a bull (Ezek. 1:4–10, 28); and four wheels next to four cherubim each covered with eyes (Ezek. 10:1–10, 22; 11:22–23).[4] In addition, the *magistra* cites other passages from the prophet, such as: 1:24 on the sound of the waters; 7:27, where she interprets the mourning king as the repentant soul; 18:30, in which the prophet calls people to repentance; 33:11, where the Lord says he does not wish the death of a sinner; and 36:5 on the fire of God's zeal.[5]

Letter 84R

Hildegard's most direct interpretation of the four animals in Ezekiel occurs in her Letter 84R, addressed to Meffridus, prior of Eberbach around 1169.[6] The prior had written her to request the words (*litteras*) that he and his monks heard she had composed about the "secular and unlearned people who have taken up the spiritual way of life," those that they called *conversi*.[7] Hildegard responded with an exegetical letter, such as those she composed to discuss thorny problems of Scripture, including Song of Songs 4:6 and Psalm 103:8. Still other letters address theological controversies on the Trinity.[8] In addition, Guibert of Gembloux, on behalf of the

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[4] In this last instance, the wheels have four faces, but they are not exactly the same: cherub, human being, lion, and eagle; the bull's face is replaced by a cherub's. On the representation of the four in art, see Michel Fromaget, *Le symbolisme des quatre vivants: Ézéchiel, Saint Jean et la tradition* (Paris, 1991). In Rev. 4:1–11, the four creatures reveal striking similarities but intriguing differences that bedeviled patristic commentators. Placed around God's throne, the four show Ezekiel-inspired faces, wings, and eyes; however, there are no wheels.

[5] Ezek. 1:24: *Diu. operum* 1.4.39, p. 173, l. 5; *Symph.*, 64, p. 464, ll. 7–8. Ezek. 7:27: *Scivias* 1.2.8, pp. 170–71, ll. 405–14. Ezek. 18:20 on righteousness: *Scivias* 2.6, p. 313, ll. 215–28. Ezek. 18:30: *Scivias* 1.2.8, pp. 17–18, ll. 190–202. Ezek. 33:11: *Expo. Euang.*, 51, p. 320, ll. 52–53. Ezek. 36:5: *Diu. operum* 2.11, p. 278, l. 5. In other instances, the allusion is not as direct, or another passage of Scripture may be the source.

[6] *Letters*, 1, 84R, pp. 183–91; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, pp. 190–94.

[7] *Letters*, 1, 84, pp. 181–82; *Epistolarium*, I, 84, pp. 188–89.

[8] On Song 4:6, see *Epistolarium*, III, 380, pp. 138–39. On Ps. 103:8, see *Epistolarium*, III, 380, pp. 133–34. On the Trinity, see the correspondence on the Trinity with Odo of Soissons and with Eberhard of Bamberg. *Epistolarium*, I, 40, 40R, pp. 102–05; 30, 30R, pp. 83–88. Bernard McGinn discusses these in "Hildegard of Bingen as Visionary and Exegete," in *Umfeld*, pp. 321–50, at pp. 333–34. Anne Clark Bartlett highlights the tension between cloister and schools in "Commentary, Polemic, and Prophecy in Hildegard of Bingen's 'Solutiones triginta octo quaestionum,'" *Viator* 23 (1992): 153–65.

monks at Villers, sought the *magistra*'s opinion on 38 problems of scriptural interpretation, to which she responded with the *Solutiones triginta octo quaestionum*.[9]

Moreover, while the *magistra* employs the form of a letter here, the text clearly presents itself in a sermon-like discourse that recalls a mixed genre, sometimes called the *sermo epistolaris*.[10] Hildegard punctuates the letter with a number of simple questions, asking repeatedly, "What is said?" (*Quid dicitur*?). The questions engage the reader in a sort of exegetical conversation that places the letter between written and oral discourse.

The *magistra* structures the core of this *sermo epistolaris* around the four animals described in Ezekiel 1 and 10 and by John the Evangelist in Revelation 4:6–9: the lion, the calf, the human-faced creature, and the flying eagle.[11] The letter thus offers an exegesis of the relevant passage in Revelation as much as it does of Ezekiel.

The *magistra* asserts the standard medieval interpretation that the four creatures represent the four evangelists.[12] She discusses at some length the roles of angels and ministers of God, as well as God's miracles, and presence in divine fire. Hildegard uses the word *ignis* several times here,

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[9] The *Solutiones* are contained within the *Epistolae*, fols 328ra–434ra, Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek 2; PL 197:1037–54. On the content, see Bartlett, "Commentary, Polemic and Prophecy," pp. 153–65; and on the genre, see Nikolaus M. Häring, "Commentary and Hermeneutics," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol Lanham, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 26 (Toronto, 1991), pp. 173–200, at p. 177.

[10] See Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "The Twelfth-Century Monastic Sermon," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, fasc. 81–83 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 275, 280. Sermons, letters, and exegetical discourses showed common characteristics in 12th-century monastic circles. On monastic letters, see Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, fasc. 17 (Turnhout, 1976); Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "New Introduction," *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. Bruno Scott James (Stroud, 1998), pp. vii–xvii.

[11] Rev. 4:6: "Et in conspectu sedis tamquam mare vitreum simile cristallo et in medio sedis et in circuitu sedis quattuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro." Exegesis of the animals in the books of these two visionary prophets dates back to Irenaeus of Lyons and is reinforced by Augustine. See Angela Russell Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See? Christian Exegesis of Ezekiel's Vision of the Chariot from Irenaeus to Gregory the Great* (Leiden, 2005), p. 16. Gregory does not connect the four creatures in Ezekiel to Revelation; see Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, I, 6.10–17, pp. 72–77.

[12] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 183; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 190, ll. 12–18: "*In medio sedis et in circuitu sedis quattuor animalia, plena oculis ante et retro.* Quod dicitur: In fortitudine potestatis Dei, qui Deus et homo est, et in omni parte quo potestas ipsius extenditur, quattuor euangelistis imbuti fideles Dei ruminantes et plenitudinem circumspectionis uirtutum habentes esse debent, ita quod uideant unde facti processerint et quod etiam uideant quid futuri sint." See note 10 above on Gregory the Great's cementing of this interpretation and on its representation in medieval art; see also Fromaget, *Le symbolisme des quatre vivants.*

but not in the manner of the Old Testament prophet's jolting brightness (*quasi electri in medio ignis*, Ezek. 1:4) or sparks (*scintillae*, Ezek. 1:7).[13] She then offers a tropological interpretation of each of the animals as she conveys teachings to various orders of people in society: monks, priests, lay brothers, people in the world, and penitent sinners.

The first creature, the lion, represents monks,[14] who with the fortitude of a lion remove themselves from worldly things.[15] Their cowls, symbolic of their way of life and focus on God, associate them with angelic garb and angelic spirits who foreshadow them.[16] The cowl holds their heads erect, always regarding God and not turning to right or left, so that they not turn away from good works.[17]

Hildegard next turns to women who choose such a way of life. Like the "cowled men," she says, "many virgins relinquish love of a man, wealth, and indeed the whole world."[18] As the virgin ought to be removed from the delights of the world, so too the "cowled throng" (*turba cucullata*) ought to abandon the world so that they perform no worldly duties. Just as the virgin is free from the care and power of a husband, so the monk remains free and not subject to the world.[19]

Virginity signifies the sun, the *magistra* asserts, and this association leads her to link the virginity chosen by religious women with the Virgin

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[13] The image of fire appears often in Hildegard's works. For a few representative examples, see *Diu. operum* 1.1.13, p. 56, ll. 1–2; 1.2.4, p. 67, ll. 1–7; 1.4.29, p. 163, ll. 15–16; and *Expo. Euang.*, 9, p. 213, ll. 80, 91–93. Gregory the Great discusses the fire and sparks seen by Ezekiel in Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, I, 3.5, pp. 35–36; I, 5.6–7, pp. 59–60.

[14] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 185; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 192, ll. 88–89: "Quod dicitur: Animal hoc primum cucullatos homines significat."

[15] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 185; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 192, ll. 89–90: "qui primi in fortitudine leonis se omnino a seculo abstrahunt."

[16] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 185; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 192, ll. 95–96: "Nam cuculla ejus ab angelicis spiritibus praesignata est, qui in faciem Dei et non in alium aspiciunt."

[17] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 185; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 192, ll. 99–102: "Homines itaque isti cuculla caput suum tegunt, ne ad sinistram uel ad dextram declinantes, recte coram se in impetu spiritus gradiantur, Deum semper inspicientes, ne de bonis operibus reuertantur."

[18] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 185; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 193, ll. 124–25: "His quoque cucullatis hominibus turba uirginum associatur, que uirum cum amore et diuitiis ac totum mundum relinquunt."

[19] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 185; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 193, ll. 126–31: "Sicut enim uirgo deliciis mundi ablata esse debet, ne ubera uoluptatis sugat, sic etiam turba cucullata, a mundo relicta esse debet, ne ulla officia saecularia cum illo exerceat. Et uirgo a uiro relicta est, ita ut sub cura et potestate ipsius non est, sicut libera ab eo est; sic etiam monachus a mundo relictus illi subjugatus non sit, sed liber ab illo maneat."

Mary, and thus with the culminating work of divinity.[20] Virginity is not without fecundity, she affirms, against criticism of the virginal life, for the Virgin gave birth to the Son of God, through whom all things were made.[21] The virgin freely gathers to herself all the golden garbed virtues of the Old and New Testaments, which God worked in his saints.[22] Hildegard skillfully ties her themes together with this analogy, furthering her moral exegesis, defending the religious life for women, and perhaps even having in mind the golden-threaded garments her nuns wore on feast days—a practice criticized by her Augustinian sister, Tenxwind.[23]

Hildegard next introduces Ezekiel's wheel, which, she explains, prefigured virginity in the era "under the law."[24] Virginity is the eternal force that saves humanity, both through the incarnation and after the incarnation through continuing miracles.[25] The wheel of Ezekiel, therefore, demonstrates that virginity has always been with God and was the instrument through which humanity gained salvation. Hildegard describes the eternality of the wheel of virginity with the words "without beginning and without end" (*sine initio et sine fine*), a phrase that appears in earlier exegesis, particularly in the commentary on John's Gospel.[26]

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[20] *Letters*, 1, 84R, pp. 185–86; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 131–34: "Virginitas quoque solem significat qui totum mundum illuminat, quia Deus uirginitatem sibi adjunxit, que uiro relicto illum genuit quem radius diuinitatis perfudit, qui et omnia regit."

[21] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 186; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, pp. 193–94, ll. 145–47: "Sic uirginitas absque fecunditate non est, quoniam Virgo Deum et hominem, per quem omnia facta sunt, genuit." The devil in the *Ordo uirtutum* launches this attack on the chorus of virtues: *Ordo*, p. 520, ll. 321–23.

[22] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 186; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 194, ll. 147–51: "Sed et hoc modo omnes uirtutes ueteris et noui testamenti, quas Deus in sanctis suis operatus est, uelut uestimentum auro decoratum deauratae sunt, et has uirgo ad se libere colliget, quoniam ligatura uiri eam non constringet."

[23] See *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 199–244.

[24] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 186; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 194, ll. 152–54. "Rota quoque quam Ezechiel uidit, uirginitatem presignauit, quia eadem uirginitas ante incarnationem Filii Dei in lege prefigurata est." Ambrose includes Ezekiel's wheels and the four animals in his *De virginitate*, which will be discussed further below. See Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, pp. 110–15.

[25] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 186; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 194, ll. 154–56: "Post incarnationem autem eius illa mirabiliter plurima miracula operatur, quoniam Deus per ipsam omnia piacula purgauit et unamquamque institutionem recte ordinauit."

[26] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 186; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 194, ll. 157–59: "Virginitas quippe uetera suffert et noua sustinet, et ipsa radix et fundamentum est omnium bonorum, quia semper et semper cum illo fuit qui sine initio et sine fine est."

While the lion signifies monks, the calf represents priests.[27] Hildegard urges chastity and sobriety on priests.[28] The *magistra*'s appeals for chastity echo the message of the Gregorian reforms and her own admonitions to the clergy in *Scivias* and subsequent writings.[29]

From the lion and the calf, monks and priests, Hildegard moves to those "whom they call" *conversi*, that is, the lay brothers who worked for the monastery.[30] She says that "many of them do not truly turn their ways to God, but they value contrariness over rectitude and address their superiors arrogantly, saying: 'Who are they and what are these? And what were we, or what are we?'"[31] She concludes that they are like pseudo-prophets, and she discusses the differing responsibilities of priests and farmers, teachers, and masters as part of the divine order.[32] Hildegard enjoins the *magistri* of the lay brothers with the duty of reproaching and correcting the *conversi*, "who refuse to work, and serve neither God nor the world with perfection."[33] Mixing these divinely ordained roles is analogous, she says, to pitting the symbolic roles of the four creatures against each other.[34] Hildegard sees the ambiguous status of lay brothers as a risky impediment to spiritual life; the mixed character of their position in the monastery seems to threaten its stability.[35]

Was Hildegard addressing a specific situation at Eberbach? The first known revolt of Cistercian lay brothers occurred in 1168 at Schönau, near Heidelberg, hence not long before this letter was written.[36] She specifically mentions the lay brothers' refusal to work. Other letters exchanged between Hildegard and the monks at Eberbach shed some light on

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[27] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 186; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 194, ll. 162–65.

[28] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 186; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 194, ll. 166–71.

[29] *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 26–30, 252–54.

[30] James France discusses this letter in *Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers 1120–1350* (Trappist, Ky., 2012), pp. 281–85.

[31] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 186; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, pp. 194–95, ll. 174–79: "ipsi conuersos uocant, quorum plurimi se ad Deum in moribus suis non conuertunt ueraciter, quia contrarietatem potius quam rectitudinem diligunt et opera sua cum sono temeritatis agunt, de prelatis suis sic dicentes: Qui sunt et quid sunt isti? Et quid fuimus aut quid sumus nos?"

[32] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 187; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 195, ll. 198–207.

[33] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 187; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, pp. 195–96, ll. 208–24, at p. 196, ll. 220–21: "nec in die nec in nocte operatur, quoniam nec Deo nec seculo ad perfectum seruiunt."

[34] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 187; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 197, ll. 214–16.

[35] Hildegard was opposed to mixing social classes in the same community, and she incurred the ire of her Augustinian contemporary, Tenxwind, for the trappings of social status that she allowed her nuns. See *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 32–33.

[36] On Cistercian lay brothers, see Brian Noell, "Expectation and Unrest among Cistercian Lay Brothers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 253–74, and the various works cited there.

problems occurring there, but no specifics are given. In Letter 83, dated to 1165–1166, the abbot asked for the *magistra*'s counsel, and she in reply (83R) cautioned against the workings of the devil, while alluding four times to boldness (*temeritas*).[37]

The *magistra* juxtaposes these harsh words on lay brothers with the striking vision of a hybrid creature with the body parts of a bear, an ox, an ass, and a mountain goat.[38] This creature serves as the point of departure for a digression conveying rather bold moral instruction, as she explains that each body part represents a moral type. The bearlike face and rear feet stand for people who secretly have a bestial moral character and who display the boldness (*temeritas*) that Hildegard criticitzes in Letter 83R.[39] The tail of the beast indicates people who begin to live in humility and poverty but fail to bring that to perfection.[40] The three horns of the beast represent occupations pursued in the world, the third constituting men who claim to be spiritual but who engage in secular matters and strive for wealth.[41] Evidence indicates that lay brothers conducted the business of the monastery, and therefore delved into the secular matters Hildegard decries.[42] The visionary lesson that Hildegard places within the larger tropological interpretation of the scriptural passage serves to admonish the prior about the perils the *magistra* sees in the mixed status of the lay brothers.

Following the vision of the hybrid creature, the *magistra* returns to the interpretation of the four animals. She asserts that the third animal with the human face represents

> . . . secular people who act with concern for both body and soul, and thus through their good intentions, rise up to God, almost as if flying on wings, because the righteous emit good desires from their hearts like rays of the sun, whence they are seen to be just like angels.[43]

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[37] *Letters*, 1, 83, 83R, pp. 180–81; *Epistolarium*, I, 83, 83R, pp. 186–88.

[38] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 187; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 196, ll. 225–26. "Et ego paupercula et indocta feminea forma quandam bestia uidi." The description continues on p. 196, ll. 226–33.

[39] *Letters*, 1, 84R, pp. 187–88; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 196, ll. 234–35, 238–39: "Bestia hec, cuius facies et anteriores pedes similes urso sunt, bestiales mores latenter habentes . . . temeritatem et duritiam peruersitatis demonstrant." See above, note 35 on 83R and the critique of boldness (*temeritas*).

[40] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 188; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 197, ll. 246–47.

[41] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 188; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 197, ll. 248–74.

[42] Again, see Noell, "Expectation and Unrest," pp. 253–74.

[43] *Letters*, 1, 84R, pp. 188–89; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 198, ll. 285–89: "Et tertium animal, habens faciem quasi hominis, seculares homines istos significat qui opera sua cum sollicitudine corporis et anime faciunt, et tamen bona intentione ad Deum ascendunt,

The *magistra* provides an extended description of these pious laypersons and their eternal reward, emphasizing their commitment to self-examination and penitence.[44]

The fourth animal, the flying eagle, represents people living in the world and leading a secular life: those who rise up to abstinence, casting aside their sin, like Mary Magdalene, who chose "the best part" (Lk. 10:42).[45] Here Hildegard blends, as other medieval writers did, the repentant woman sinner (Lk. 7:37–50) and Mary of Magdala (Mk. 16:9) with Mary of Bethany.[46] In two of the *Expositiones*, the *magistra* glosses Mary Magdalene as *peccatrix penitens*.[47] Letter 84R is distinctive from these other references, in that Hildegard affirms the role of Mary Magdalene as a model for penitent laypeople.

The *magistra* concludes the letter stating in the first person: "But I, a poor little form, weak and sickly since childhood, was compelled to write this text, by a mystical and true vision, lying in bed seriously ill, with God helping and commanding."[48] The phrase that Hildegard uses to describe her seeing, *in mystica et uera uisione*, is nearly identical to what that she employs elsewhere for Ezekiel's vision: *in mystica uisione*.[49] The *magistra* combines this figure of strength, hidden in the weakness of her female form, with an admonishment to prelates and teachers as well as a threat of God's punishment (*uindicta Dei*) for any who fail to heed her words.[50]

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quasi cum pennis uolent, quia queque bona desideria sicut radius solis ex cordi iusti emittuntur, unde et uelut pennata uidentur."

[44] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 189; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, pp. 198–99, ll. 285–347.

[45] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 190; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, pp. 199–200, ll. 348–65.

[46] This began with Gregory the Great's fusion of the three Marys and became the standard for medieval exegetes. See Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, II, 8.21, p. 352, ll. 589–92: "In hoc fonte misericordiae lota est Maria Magdalene, quae prius famosa peccatrix, postmodum lavit maculas lacrimis, detersit maculas corrigendo mores." Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia*, ed. R. Étaix (Turnhout, 1999), II, 25, pp. 215–16, ll. 285–314. Three biblical women become one: an unnamed sinner who washed Jesus' feet with her hair (Lk. 7:37–50); Mary of Bethany, who called upon Jesus to raise her brother Lazarus from the dead (Jn. 11:1–45; 12:1–8); and Mary Magdalene, apostle to the apostles, whom Jesus healed of seven demons (Mk. 16:9). See Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2000), pp. 32–35.

[47] *Expo. Euang.*, 28, p. 269, ll. 1–2; Ibid., 29, p. 272, ll. 1–3. Hildegard, however, does not dwell on the Magdalene, neither here nor in her other writings.

[48] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 191; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 201, ll. 397–99: "Ego autem paupercula forma, ab infantia mea debilis et infirma, in mystica et uera uisione ad hanc scripturam coacta sum, eamque in graui egritudine in lecto iacens, Deo iubente et adiuuante, conscripsi." See also p. 196, ll. 225–26, cited above in note 38.

[49] See *Scivias* 2.4, p. 170, ll. 403–04: "ut in mystica uisione sua Ezekiel dicit."

[50] *Letters*, 1, 84R, p. 191; *Epistolarium*, I, 84R, p. 201, ll. 400–05. See *Speaking New Mysteries*, p. 6, on Hildegard's visionary claims and the lack thereof in the *Expositiones*.

Hildegard's protestations of weakness ironically underscore the boldness of a nun teaching a Cistercian prior about Scripture and admonishing him to take a harder line against any insubordination by lay brothers.

In summary, Hildegard's Letter 84R takes as its structure and point of departure the exegesis of the four animals that appear in Ezekiel, chapters 1 and 10, and Revelation 4:6. The *magistra* then glides into her interpretation of the wheels in Ezekiel's vision as a symbol of the virginity embodied in the Virgin Mary, which she both praises and urges upon nuns. The interpretation of the animals grounds the moral instruction that she aims at monks, nuns, priests, the *conversi*, and the laity. The *conversi* occupy an intermediate space that Hildegard finds disturbing in its dissonance with a hierarchical view of society.

The letter, like the *magistra*'s visionary works, asserts her claim to prophetic authority. Hildegard's teaching pauses to focus on her nuns at the same time that it addresses the Cistercian community of Eberbach. It also demonstrates her concern for a broad audience, all of whom she calls to reform and penitence, in accordance with their status. This may indicate the wider circulation and reading of the letter, as well as its possible use as a source for preaching material.[51] Indeed, the core of the letter reads like a sermon to various orders of society.

Hildegard turns to the four animals in the *Liber vite meritorum* 1.17 as well.[52] There, in contrast, she links the faces of each animal to a quality of God. The human face designates God's goodness (*pietatem*), through which humanity receives perception (*sensibilitatem*); the lion's face represents the strength of God (*uirtutem*), by which God grants humankind rationality; the ox's face denotes God's sacrifice (*sacrificium*), which teaches humanity to sacrifice to God; the eagle's face prefigures God's knowledge (*scientiam*), through which God offers humankind the possibility of knowledge. Her reading here is allegorical. Hence, she interprets the four faces in two senses of Scripture, tropologically as four orders of society, and allegorically as four divine qualities that illustrate the power of God's innumerable works.

A Trinity of Motion: Creation, Incarnation, and the Holy Spirit

The wheels in Letter 84R establish a framework for exploring the Ezekelian imagery in the *magistra*'s other works. A multivalent symbol, the wheel

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[51] See *Speaking New Mysteries*, p. 260, on the Mainz treatise Hildegard intended for preaching.

[52] *Vite mer.*, 1.17, pp. 20–21, ll. 338–60.

represents not only virginity but also the eternality of the Trinity. Hildegard expresses the eternality of God the Father in the *Explanatio de Regula Sancti Benedicti*, where she describes the turning wheel as the power of God, which gave the law to Moses and the Rule to Benedict.[53] In the *Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii*, Hildegard explains, "Also the Father is eternal, in that eternity that never began, and in the likeness of a spinning wheel in which neither a beginning nor an end is observed."[54] This symbolism is a key part of her commentary on the Athanasian Creed, which underscores Hildegard's theology of the eternality of the three persons of the Trinity.[55] Hildegard uses similar language to describe the divinity in the *Liber diuinorum operum* as having "neither beginning or end." The wheel with no beginning or end represents the power of God.[56] Moreover, the idea that the circle represents divine eternality is present in *Scivias* 2.2, where the *magistra* describes the blue figure of Christ within two bands of concentric circles, which represent the other two persons of the Trinity.[57]

Likewise, in *O Verbum Patris*, song 70 in the *Symphonia*, Hildegard describes the Word as present at the inception of the world, and "in the circle of a wheel."[58] She then develops the concept of the circle as the manner in which the Word works, creating and sustaining the cosmos.

> And you worked
> As in the likeness of a wheel
> Encircling all things
> Which has no beginning
> Nor is it destroyed in an end.[59]

Hence the *magistra* ties this image of the eternal divine circle to creation and incarnation, the eternality of both Father and Son.[60]

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[53] *De reg. Bened.*, p. 68, ll. 17–20.

[54] *Expl. Symb.*, p. 118, ll. 269–71: "Eternus quoque Pater est, in illa scilicet eternitate que nunquam incepit, et in similitudine circumeuntis rote in qua nec principium nec finis conspicitur."

[55] *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 163–69, 295–96.

[56] *Diu. operum* 1.4.11, p. 143, ll. 6–8.

[57] *Scivias* 2.2, pp. 125–26, ll. 31–63. Bernard McGinn comments on Hildegard's images of the Trinity in "Theologians as Trinitarian Iconographers," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Anne-Marie Bouché and Jeffrey F. Hamburger (Princeton, 2006), pp. 186–207.

[58] *Symph.*, 70, p. 473, ll. 1–4: "O Verbum Patris / in lumen prime aurore / in circulo rote es, / omnia in diuina ui operans." Translation of the *Symphonia* here and elsewhere, unless otherwise noted, is by Travis Stevens.

[59] Ibid., ll. 10–14: "et operatus es / quasi in similitudine rote / cuncta circueuntis, / que inicium non accepit / nec in fine prostrata est."

[60] *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 20–21, 187, 260, 263, 272, 277.

Likewise, in *O Fili dilectissime*, the following poem (71) of the same cycle, she speaks in the voice of the Virgin Mary:

> O beloved Son,
> Whom I bore in my flesh
> From the strength of the turning wheel
> Of holy divinity.[61]

Mary addresses her son, describing his conception as resulting from the wheel of divinity. The wheel of divine power brings about incarnation, the union of human and divine, and eventually salvation. Thus, in both of these compositions from the *Symphonia*, Hildegard represents God's activity as similar to that of a turning wheel. In the first case, she writes of God's creation of the cosmos and eternal involvement with it; in the second, she describes the mystery of the incarnation through the voice of the Virgin Mary, mother of Christ.

The wheel extends to the third person of the Trinity as well. The divine strength described in *O Fili dilectissime* evokes the power of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, in *Expositio* 9 on John 1:1–14, Hildegard describes those who received the Word as being "led in a circle before others in miracles in the light of the fire of the Holy Spirit."[62] The Spirit's power then is associated with light, fire, and the circular motion of the wheel. Furthermore, this power illuminates Hildegard herself, as she evokes the wheels of the prophet's vision in *Scivias* and in Letter 84R, claiming prophetic authority and echoing the warnings Ezekiel uttered against sinful humanity based on what he saw *in mystica significatione* and *in mystica visione*.[63]

The Wheel and Created Beings

Hildegard extends the complex symbolism of the turning wheel of Ezekiel by employing it to encompass the human body as well as non-human creatures. The *magistra* compares the brain to a wheel in the *Liber diuinorum operum*, an analogy she also applies to the inner workings of the body, and

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[61] *Symph.*, 71, p. 474, ll. 1–4.: "O Fili dilectissime, / quem genui in uisceribus meis / de ui circueuntis rote / sancte diuinitatis."

[62] *Expo. Euang.*, 9, p. 213, ll. 80–83: "ut rota in lumine ignis Sancti Spiritus in miraculis pre aliis circumducti sunt: et ideo cognouerunt eum, quoniam et ipsi ut uentus in prophetia et in aliis miraculis circumacti sunt."

[63] *Scivias* 2.4, p. 170, ll. 403–04: "ut in mystica uisione sua Ezekiel dicit." *Scivias* 3.1, p. 344, ll. 561–62: "sicut etiam idem Ezekiel in spiritu meo regi Tyri sub mystica significatione dicit: 'Omnes qui uiderint te in gentibus obstupescent super te.'"

elsewhere to the process of conception, which she compares to the wheel of a mill.[64] Not only the physical but also the moral processes within the body are viewed as wheel-like. In *Expositio* 56 on Luke 21:25–33, the *magistra* describes the virtues moving in circles, tossed about by tempests in the body "like the wheels that Ezekiel saw."[65] This movement recalls Ezekiel 1:19, the movement of the wheels in conjunction with a human(oid) body.[66] Hildegard's depiction of the virtues, which struggle tempestuously within the body and compete against vices to gain sway over the human, mirrors the cosmic struggle between good and evil, which, correspondingly, endures until the end of the world, like the wheel that never stops turning or a circle with no end or beginning.[67] Here as elsewhere, Hildegard reveals the Platonic concept of microcosm and macrocosm, and notably the influence of Origen as he describes the *mundus minor* within the human being.[68]

In *Expositio* 1, Hildegard describes another sort of circular motion, the movement of flying creatures. God the creator, through the *magistra*'s voice, addresses the birds on their appropriate behavior and states: "Trace the circles of your flight" (*gira circulos uolatus tui*).[69] This language may echo Jerome's paraphrasing of Ecclesiastes 1:6 in his *Commentary on Ezekiel*, where he explains Ezekiel 1:15–18—"the wheel in the midst of the wheel" (*rota in medio rote*)—and says: "The Spirit goes circling in a circle and returns into its own circles" (*gyrans girando uadit spiritus et in circulos suos reuertitur*).[70]

In *Symphonia* 52, *O Euchari columba*, Hildegard associates the circular motion of a flying creature with the spheres of the Spirit's movement.

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[64] *Diu. operum* 1.4.14, pp. 145–46, ll. 19–28; 1.4.29, p. 164, ll. 44–50; *Expo. Euang.*, 9, p. 213, ll. 89–90.

[65] *Expo. Euang.*, 56, p. 328, ll. 11–14: "*Nam uirtutes*, scilicet racionalitas, fides, spes, caritas et ceterae uires animae, *celorum*, quia celestes sunt, *mouebuntur*, pre tempestatibus quae in ambitu corporis sunt, euntes et redeuntes, quasi rotae quas Ezekiel uidit."

[66] Ezek. 1:19: "Cumque ambularent animalia ambulabant pariter et rote iuxta ea. Et cum eleuarentur animalia de terra eleuabant simul et rote."

[67] For an overview of the virtues and vices in the *Ordo uirtutum* and the 12th century generally, as well as an exploration of the concept's roots in Origen, Gregory the Great, and Plato, see *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 199–244.

[68] *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 84–92.

[69] *Expo. Euang.*, p. 189, ll. 50–51.

[70] Jerome, *Commentarii in Hiezechielem*, ed. Franciscus Glorie, CCSL 75 (Turnhout, 1964), I, 1.15–18, pp. 19–20, l. 481. *Glossa ordinaria*, II, p. 225, has a marginal note on "rota in medio rote" from Jerome. The Vulgate for Eccl. 1:6 reads: "gyrat per meridiem et flectitur ad aquilonem lustrans universa circuitu pergit spiritus et in circulos suos regreditur."

The *magistra* describes St Eucharius as the dove, a symbol of the Holy Spirit:

> O Eucharius,
> the dove grants you the strength in signs of that one,
> who once cried out in the middle of the wheel.
>
> When you saw him no more in the body,
> you have completed full signs in his shadow.
>
> And as you have shined on his breast,
> you have made a seal on the cherubim.
>
> When you saw him no more in the body,
> you have completed full signs in his shadow.[71]

The dove, once called from the midst of the wheel (*in medio rote*), gave Eucharius its strength. The resulting imagery overlaps the symbols of the wheel, the creature, and the Spirit to express Hildegard's theological message. The dove links the manifestations of the Spirit across the ages with Eucharius. Moreover, the song evokes another echo of Ezekiel: the figure of the cherubim shines forth from the heart of Eucharius, just as the cherubim in Ezekiel 10:9–10 appears within the four wheels. The seal Eucharius bears on his heart recalls an image Hildegard describes in the *Liber diuinorum operum*, the figure of a man with a bright wheel shining in his chest, analogous to the brilliance of true Charity, which embraces the sphere of the world.[72] This richly layered imagery expresses the holiness of Eucharius at the same time that it encompasses Hildegard's theology of creation, incarnation, and the working of the Spirit through history.

The *magistra* identifies Ezekiel's wheel as life itself. That meaning occurs no fewer than four times in *Expositio* 35 on John 3:1–15, the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus about life and rebirth.[73] Each passage merits citation. Hildegard first speaks about the life of every creature:

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[71] *Symph.*, 52, p. 444, ll. 1–14: "O Euchari, / columba uirtutem illius / in signis tibi dedit, / qui olim in medio rote clamitauit./ Quem cum amplius / corporaliter non uidisti, / plena signa in umbra illius /perfecisti./ Et sic in pectore eius fulsisti / ac in cherubin sigillum fecisti /Quem cum amplius / corporaliter non uidisti, / plena signa in umbra illius / perfecisti."

[72] *Diu. operum* 1.2.1, p. 65, ll. 180–86; 1.2.46, p. 112, ll. 1–23.

[73] *Expo. Euang.*, 35, pp. 283–85.

1. Unless it turns around the wheel that is life, it does not live. When both animals and other creatures are formed in secret, they can be said to be born; but when they have touched the air or the growth of greenness or the vigor of fortitude, they are said to be reborn.[74]

2, 3. *What is born*, that is, brought forth *from flesh is flesh*, knowing nothing, because it lacks form—the wheel, namely life; *and what is born from the Spirit*, either by air or by growth, *is spirit*, because the wheel that is life is complete power.[75]

4. *The spirit blows*, giving life because the wheel of life which I touch neither stands nor moves nor flies without me, *where it will*, when it knows it ought to be so.[76]

Hildegard speaks in the voice of Jesus answering Nicodemus, and in the fourth citation she adopts the first-person discourse of the scriptural passage to grant added force to her teaching. By employing the imagery of the wheel, the *magistra* brings together the wheel's symbolic meaning as life with that of the life-giving Holy Spirit, which follows a circular course.

Finally, Hildegard associates the wheel with understanding, knowledge, and wisdom. In the *Liber vite meritorum*, she speaks of the wheel of knowledge that turns within an individual human being, influencing the choice between good and evil.[77] Similarly, in *Expositio* 52, Hildegard interprets Luke 18:10–14, the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, as a story about the knowledge of good and evil, *scientia boni et mali*. The former, represented by the Pharisee, lists for God all the great things he does:

> *I fast twice on the Sabbath*; I cut off the two-tongued speech from your sanctuary. *I give a tenth of everything I own*; in the Ten Commandments I offer you praise, who are the one God, from every circle of my intellect, by which I know you.[78]

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[74] Ibid., p. 284, ll. 28–31: "*non potest introire in regnum Dei*, id est nisi rota quae uita est eam circumducat, non uiuit, quia et animalia et aliae creaturae, cum formantur in abdito, nata dici possunt, cum uero aerem tetigerint uel incrementum uiriditatis aut uim fortitudinis, renata dicuntur."

[75] Ibid., p. 284, ll. 31–35. "*Quod natum est*, productum est *de carne, caro est*, nichil sciens, quia forma indiget, rota scilicet uita, *et quod natum est* de *Spiritu, spiritus est*, uel aere uel incremento uiuificatum, quoniam rota quae uita est, tota potestas est."

[76] Ibid., 35, p. 284, ll. 39–40: "*Spiritus ubi uult*, id est ubi nouit sic esse debere, *spirat*, uiuificando, quia rota uitae quam tango nec stat, nec uadit, nec uolat sine me."

[77] *Vite mer.*, 3.19, p. 405.

[78] *Expo. Euang.*, 52, p. 321, ll. 17–20: "*Ieiuno*, scilicet abscido, *bis*, bilinguem loquelam, *in sabbato*, uidelicet a sanctuario tuo; *decimas do*, id est in decem preceptis laudem offero, qui unus Deus es, *omnium quae possideo*, scilicet de omni circulo intellectus mei in quo te scio."

Knowledge of Good (*Scientia Boni*), speaking in Hildegard's narrative in parallel to the gospel text, clearly describes itself as having circular form. While this image does not refer explicitly to the wheel, it illuminates the previous images where knowledge spreads in a circular fashion. It also demonstrates that the symbolic geometry underlying the wheel—that is, the circle—conveys meanings related to both understanding and knowledge.

Hildegard also employs the image of the wheel to describe the diffusion of knowledge. In *Expositio* 41, commenting on Luke 5:1–11, she writes:

> *And fear spread to all their neighbors*, so that all born of humans were stupefied, and feared, *and to all mountainous places*, that is over the height, *of Judea*, clearly of the old institution. All these words were made known, led in a circle like a wheel, since they understood these things.[79]

In this instance, the seer represents the publication of knowledge about the blessedness of Elizabeth as circular, spreading out from a central point. That knowledge will lead, of course, to the birth and ministry of John the Baptist and his announcement of Jesus' coming in the flesh.

Hildegard speaks of circles as characteristic of wisdom in *O uirtus sapientiae*, the second poem of the *Symphonia:*

> O strength of Wisdom,
> Which circling, you have encircled,
> Understanding all things
> In the one way that holds life,
> Having three wings,
> Of which one flies in the heights
> And another exudes from the earth
> And a third flies around every which way.
> Praise be to you, as becomes you,
> O Wisdom.[80]

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[79] Ibid., 41, p. 302, ll. 36–40. "*Et factus est timor super omnes uicinos eorum*, ita ut omnes nati de hominibus stuperent et tremerent, *et super omnia montana*, id est super altitudinem, *Iudeae*, scilicet ueteris institutionis, *diuulgabantur omnia uerba haec*, circumducta ut rota, quatinus haec intelligerent."

[80] *Symph.*, 2, p. 375, ll. 1–10: "O uirtus Sapientie, / que circuiens circuisti, / comprehendendo omnia / in una uia que habet uitam, /tres alas habens, / quarum una in altum uolat / et altera de terra sudat / et tercia undique uolat. / Laus tibi sit, sicut te decet, / O Sapientia." Translation modified from *Symph.* (Eng.), p. 101, by Travis Stevens. Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1150* (Oxford, 1970), p. 157, comments on the circular motion of the wings of God in *Scivias* 3.5 and in the antiphon *O uirtus Sapientiae*. He notes that the notion of the cosmos's circular motion dates back to the motion of *anima mundi* (the world soul) in Plato's *Timaeus*.

Wisdom, whose flight is circular, as is that of the Spirit and the dove that represents it, appears as the ultimate giver and possessor of knowledge and understanding. Wisdom moves in a circular fashion, recalling the circular motion of Ezekiel's wheel, as Hildegard interprets it elsewhere. Moreover, in *Expositio* 9 on John 1:1–14, *the magistra* associates the wheels with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit as revealed through the prophets, who pointed to the incarnation.[81] Likewise, in *Expositio* 41 on Luke 5:1–11, the seer describes the reverberation of Zachariah's words among the neighbors as the turning of a wheel, revolving the old law into the new.[82]

The layers of imagery overlap and expand outward: Father, Son, Spirit, humanity, and creatures constitute all of life itself, on earth and in the cosmos. Microcosm and macrocosm are united in the sphere of the universe. The Spirit, which animates all of history, is divine Wisdom itself. Finally, Hildegard praises greenness (*uiriditas*), the life-giving force emanating from all three persons of the Trinity; it shines from a wheel as it encompasses and embraces divine mysteries:

> O most noble viridity
> You take root in the sun
> And in shining brightness
> You shine forth in a wheel.[83]

Patristic Exegesis of Ezekiel

Does Hildegard follow patristic precedents for her interpretations of Ezekiel? Her language of circular motion recalls Jerome's commentary on the prophet's book, as we noted above. Does she echo other patristic exegetes? Gregory's *Homilies on Ezekiel*, indebted to Origen, Irenaeus of Lyons, Jerome, and other earlier commentators, grounded the medieval tradition for interpreting the prophet's book, including the significance of the wheels and of the four creatures described in Ezekiel, chapters 1 and 10.[84] While Jerome's correlation of the four creatures with the evangelists

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[81] *Expo. Euang.*, 9, p. 13, ll. 80–83: "quoniam ipsi ut rota in lumine ignis Sancti Spiritus in miraculis pre aliis circumducti sunt: et ideo cognouerunt eum, quoniam et ipsi ut uentus in prophetia et in aliis miraculis circumacti sunt."

[82] Ibid., 41, p. 302, ll. 39–40.

[83] *Symph.*, 56, p. 451, ll. 1–4: "O nobilissima uiriditas, / que radicas in sole / et que in candida serenitate / luces in rota." See also *Scivias* 3.13.7, p. 620, ll. 182–85.

[84] See Jerome, *Commentarii in Hiezechielem*, inter alia, I, 1.6–8, p. 11, ll. 191–206. See also Fromaget, *Le symbolisme des quatre vivants*, pp. 65–69.

became the standard (the man for Matthew, the lion for Mark, the calf for Luke, the eagle for John), Irenaeus of Lyons was the first to identify them with the gospel writers, but paired Mark with the eagle and John with the lion.[85] Likewise, in the Latin tradition, the precedent for considering the four animals of Ezekiel and those of Revelation 4:6 together dates back to Irenaeus and is reinforced by Augustine.[86] Gregory the Great provides the most extensive moral interpretations of the animals, but his readings echo earlier exegetes, such as Ambrose and Jerome.[87]

Ambrose offers a moral interpretation to Ezekiel 1:15 in *De virginitate*, and in *De spiritu sancto* and *Expositio Psalmi 118* he introduces the notion that the wheel indicates the unity of the two testaments. Hildegard may have had that concept in mind in her description of Zachariah's words revolving among the neighbors.[88] Ambrose's *De virginitate* is also a possible source for Hildegard's linking of the eternality of virginity with that of Ezekiel's "wheel within a wheel."[89] For Ambrose, the wheel touching the ground symbolizes the body which is suited for a life of virtue based on the Gospel, and the "wheel within a wheel" is consonant with the life of the saints who move towards eternity while still in the body. Immediately following this comparison, Ambrose cites Ezekiel 1:26, the voice in the cloud, which he identifies with the Word as he cites John 1:14, the "Word that became flesh."[90]

Ambrose and other exegetes employ the phrase *sine initio et sine fine* to express the notion that the wheel represents eternality.[91] Hildegard uses

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[85] Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, pp. 14–18.

[86] Ibid., p. 16, n. 11.

[87] The four animals are discussed in Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, I, 2.15, p. 26, ll. 293–98; I, 2.18, pp. 27–28, ll. 346–63; I, 3.1–2, pp. 33–34, ll. 1–35.

[88] *Expo. Euang.*, 41, p. 302, ll. 39–40.

[89] Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, pp. 38–44, 105–09.

[90] PL 16:297A: "Rota enim super terram vita est corporis ad animae aptata virtutem, et ad Evangelicum cohaerenti cursu formata praeceptum: rota autem in medio rotae, veluti vita intra vitam; quod sanctorum sibi vita non dissonet, sed qualis fuerit superioris aetatis, talis sit et sequentis: vel quod in hac vita corporis vitae volvatur usus aeternae. Cum ista congruerint, tunc divina vox resultabit, tunc super similitudinem throni similitudo sicut species hominis apparebit" (Ezek. 1:26). Hic homo Verbum est, quia *Verbum caro factum est*" (Jn. 1:14).

[91] Among other sources, see Lucifer Calaritanus, *De sancto Athanasio*, ed. Gerardus Diercks, CCSL 8 (Turnhout, 1978), 2.34, p. 132, l. 44; Ambrose, *De fide*, ed. Christoph Markschies, Fontes Christiani, vol. 2, (Turnhout, 2005), 3.11.88, p. 422, l. 3; Origen, *In exodum homiliae*, trans. Tyrannius Rufinus, *Origenes Werke* (Leipzig, 1920), 6, 6.5, p. 197, ll. 9–10; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, eds. Adelin Rousseau and Louis Doutreleau, SC 294 (Paris, 1982), 2.34.2, p. 356, l. 28; also SC 211 (Paris, 1974), 3.8.3, p. 96, ll. 65–66; Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, ed. Radbod Willems, CCSL 36 (Turnhout, 1954), 21.4, p. 214, l. 28;

the same wording in another letter (173R), where she relays God's voice, saying: "I, the turning wheel, accept your response, I who live without beginning and without end." Moreover, in *Scivias*, the seer describes the one God, without beginning and without end, who is in eternity.[92]

Jerome, like Ambrose, interprets the motion of the wheels in Ezekiel in connection with the relationship of the Old and New Testaments and the spread of the Gospel both in the world and in the inner person. As Angela Russell Christman observes, these are standard interpretations of the wheels by the early 5th century.[93] Jerome writes, "And the wheel in the wheel, is either the joining of the two testaments, which Jacob's ladder indicates, and Isaiah's tongs and the double-edged sword, or the coherence of the Gospel to itself."[94] Hildegard is familiar with this exegetical concept and employs the motif of the unity of the testaments when she asserts that the Old Testament, namely the book of Ezekiel, prefigured the New in the representation of virginity.[95]

Gregory the Great expands the notion of the turning wheel of Ezekiel as the link between the two testaments. He sees the "spirit moving" as distinct from the "spirit of life in the wheels" (Ezek. 1:20–21), where his predecessors had seen only the Holy Spirit. For Gregory, the "spirit" designates the saints who understand from Scripture how to lead a moral life; and the "spirit of life" represents the Holy Spirit. Gregory provides examples of various people inspired to virtuous action by the Spirit, namely

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40.6, p. 354, l. 17; 99.5, p. 585, l. 5; 104.3, p. 603, l. 33; 105.8, p. 607, l. 8; Alcuin of York, *Commentaria in sancti Iohannis Euangelium*, PL 100:867A (Paris, 1863); Paschasius Radbertus, *De fide, spe, et caritate*, ed. Beda Paulus, CCCM 97 (Turnhout, 1990), 1.8, p. 30, ll. 912–13; and *Expositio in Matheo*, ed. Beda Paulus, CCCM 56 (Turnhout, 1990), 4, p. 385, l. 782; Rupert of Deutz, *Commentaria in evangelium Sancti Iohannis*, ed. Rhaban Haacke, CCCM 9 (Turnhout, 1969), 5, p. 270, ll. 1204–05; also *De victoria verbi Dei. Monumenta germaniae historica*, ed. Rhaban Haacke, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 5 (Weimar, 1970), 2.9, p. 56, ll. 20–21.

[92] *Epistolarium*, II, 173R, p. 393, ll. 17–21: "Et dominus eius ipsi respondit: Serue bone, responsum tuum, me circueunte rota, sic accipio, dicens: Ego qui sine initio et sine fine uiuo, te in magnis honoribus supra omnia que amasti ponere uolo, nec mea possibilitas te condemnabit, quia per penitentiam uocasti me." See also *Epistolarium*, II, 84 R, p. 194, ll. 157–59: "Virginitas quippe uetera suffert ac noua sustinet, et ipsa radix et fundamentum omnium bonorum est, quia semper et semper cum illo fuit qui sine initio et sine fine est." *Scivias* 3.1.16, p. 345, ll. 593–94: "non est nisi unus Deus sine initio et sine fine, in aeternitate."

[93] Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, p. 47.

[94] Jerome, *Commentarii in Hiezechielem*, I, 1.15–18, p. 20, ll. 487–90: "Rota quoque in rota vel duorum iunctura testamentorum et quod indicat scala Iacob et forceps Isaiae et gladius bis acutus vel evangelista sibi cohaerentia." *Glossa ordinaria*, II, p. 225.

[95] See note 86 above.

to prophecy, patience, preaching, and penitence.[96] Like Jerome, he links elements of Ezekiel's vision to the four cardinal virtues of prudence, fortitude, justice, and temperance, but Gregory also links the wheel broadly to the active and contemplative lives.[97] Hildegard could have found a point of departure for her tropological interpretation in a number of Gregorian discussions, although she repeats none directly, as is her practice in her exegesis overall.[98]

Finally, Gregory seems to extend Ambrose and Jerome's reading of the wheel and the unity of the testaments. The wheel indicates the process of spiritual transformation that took place in the Scriptures, from Old to New Testaments, because of the incarnation and the renewal of history, the passage from the time before the law to the time under grace. Gregory reads the wheel as the ignorance of the Jews before the coming of Jesus.[99] While Hildegard shares the view of salvation history and of Scripture, she does not echo this Gregorian reading when she expounds on Ezekiel.[100] Nor does Hildegard employ, here as elsewhere, the interpretations found in the *Glossa ordinaria*.[101] Overall, Hildegard's interpretation of the Ezekiel passages in question differs from that of her patristic predecessors, although the seeds for her readings are present in their works.

Among Hildegard's near contemporaries, the most influential commentator on Ezekiel was Rupert of Deutz. Was Hildegard familiar with the work of her Rhenish predecessor? Hildegard's biographer, Theodoric, places the seer in the line of Daniel, Ezekiel, and John the Evangelist as an interpreter of divinely revealed images. When he specifically compares her to Daniel with regard to her wondrous interpretation of letters found on an altar cloth, he echoes a motif that appears in the work of Rupert of Deutz.[102] In the prologue to *De victoria verbi Dei*, Rupert recounts that he explained the vision of Daniel to his abbot, who was so pleased with the interpretation that he requested Rupert to "compose a work on the victory of the word of God."[103] Theodoric probably reveals a debt to Rupert of Deutz as well as the intent to place Hildegard squarely in Rupert's visionary footsteps.

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96 Christman, *What Did Ezekiel See?*, pp. 57–58.

97 Ibid., pp. 137–50.

98 *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 123–30.

99 Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, I, 6.15, p. 75, ll. 275–80. See also *Glossa ordinaria*, II, p. 225.

100 *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 155–98.

101 See *Glossa ordinaria*, II, p. 225.

102 *V. Hild.*, 3.16, p. 54; *Life of Hildegard*, p. 79.

103 *De victoria verbi Dei*, Prologus, pp. 1–3.

Rupert claimed, just as Hildegard did, that a vision provided the source for his understanding of Scripture, and some echoes of Rupert's works are found in Hildegard's *Expositiones euangeliorum* and the *Symphonia*.[104] Rupert in *De sancta Trinitate* drew heavily on Gregory the Great's *Homilies on Ezekiel*, as did much other medieval commentary.

Hildegard's two interpretations of the four faces or animals differ from those of Rupert of Deutz. Rupert states that the four faces represent not only the evangelists but also four sacraments (presumably baptism, laying on of hands, Eucharist, and penance), four events in Christ's journey (incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension), and four virtues (prudence, which is associated with the human face; temperance, which is linked to the calf's face; fortitude, which is expectedly the quality of the lion; and justice, which the eagle designates).[105] This designation of the four virtues follows Jerome and Gregory the Great.[106] Rupert interweaves the four sets of four meanings, moving from allegory to Christology and sacramental and moral theology, whereas Hildegard sees the four faces on the one hand tropologically, as the four orders of society which she instructs on proper conduct, and on the other as qualities of God which demonstrate the power of God's innumerable works.

Wilhelm Neuss signaled the influence of Rupert of Deutz's interpretation of Ezekiel on the frescoes depicting Ezekiel's visions at the church of Schwarzrheindorf outside Bonn.[107] Founded by Arnold of Wied, archbishop of Cologne, the church was consecrated in 1151 in the presence of the Emperor Conrad III and his brother, the chronicler Otto of Freising, among others. Twenty scenes portray Ezekiel's vision of the destruction and rebuilding of Jerusalem. The iconographic program has been interpreted in the context of the Second Crusade and anti-Semitism in

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[104] See the *Opera minora*, *Index fontium*, pp. 586–87. *Speaking New Mysteries* discusses differences and parallels between Hildegard and Rupert, chiefly on pp. 11–12, 29–30, 158–59. On the visionary link between Rupert and Ezekiel, see Bernard McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism* (New York, 1994) p. 329.

[105] Rupert of Deutz, *De sancta trinitate et operibus eius*, ed. Rhaban Haacke, 4 vols., CCCM 21–24 (Turnhout, 1971–72), vol. 23 (1972), Liber 30, *In Hiezecihelem prophetam commentariorum*, pp. 1643–1737, at p. 1645, ll. 102–04; p. 1646, ll. 137–39; p. 1652, ll. 351–59.

[106] See note 95 above.

[107] Wilhelm Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Gemälde in der Kirche zu Schwarzrheindorf; ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Typologie der christlichen Kunst, vornehmlich in den Benediktinerklöstern, von Dr. theol. Wilhelm Neuss . . . Mit 86 Abbildungen, gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Provinzialverwaltung der Rheinprovinz* (Münster in Westf., 1912), pp. 114–31, 265–97.

the Rhineland.[108] While the murals at Schwarzrheindorf attest to the importance of Ezekiel's visions in Hildegard's contemporary visual culture, no clear conceptual links emerge between her work and the paintings.

Images of Ezekiel in Illuminated Bibles

Does the visual exegesis of the book of Ezekiel in illuminated manuscripts offer any significant parallels with Hildegard's interpretations? A survey of several Bibles will address this question. Medieval illuminators captured the force of the *Et*, the first letter of the prophet's Latin name and the first word of his book,[109] creating initials that represent key passages: the dream, the dry bones, the wheel, and the four creatures. Particularly noteworthy examples from the mid to the late 12th century include the Frankenthaler Bible, also known as the Worms Bible, and the Bible of Souvigny.

The Frankenthaler Bible was produced at the monastery of St Mary Magdalene in Frankenthal, outside Worms, in 1148.[110] It portrays the prophet Ezekiel holding the letter "E" of the prophetic *Et* that begins his book.[111] He bears a banner with the words from Ezekiel 1:1b: "When I was in the middle of the captives next to the river Chobar, the skies were opened and I saw visions of God" (*cum essem in medio captivorum iuxta fluvium Chobar aperti sunt caeli et vidi visiones Dei*). The prophetic *Et* seems to be associated with Ezekiel because the book of Ezekiel, unlike the other major prophetic books in the Vulgate, begins with *Et*. The iconographic program followed by medieval illuminators reflects knowledge of Gregory the Great's *Homilies on Ezekiel*, and the *Et* provided prime real estate for an inhabited or historiated initial, as is the case for the Frankenthaler Bible.[112]

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[108] See also Anne Derbes, "The Frescoes of Schwarzrheindorf, Arnold of Wied, and the Second Crusade," in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 141–54. On the visionary link between Rupert and Ezekiel, see McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, p. 329.

[109] The prophetic "Et" which Gregory interprets is based on a narrative past Hebrew verb form known as *wayyiqtol* or converted imperfect, which is formed with the Hebrew conjunction "waw," meaning "and."

[110] The Frankenthaler Bible, also known as the Worms Bible: London, British Library, Harley 2803–2804. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, *The Making of a Manuscript: The Worms Bible of 1148* (Wiesbaden, 1983).

[111] British Library, Harley 2803–2804, fol. 229.

[112] Other Old Testament books beginning with "Et" in the Vulgate include Joshua, 1 Kings, 1 Maccabees, Baruch, and Jonah. The initial "Et" of Joshua in the Frankenthaler Bible was illuminated but not historiated. In other Bibles of this time period, the initial "Et" of Joshua was sometimes historiated, as in London, British Library, Harley 2833,

The production of this Bible approximately 85 km from Disibodenberg demonstrates that this association of the prophetic *Et* with Ezekiel in particular was familiar in Hildegard's cultural world.

The late 12th-century Bible of Souvigny, which was produced at the monastery of Cluny, includes a historiated initial depicting the prophet sleeping beneath the four signs of the evangelists: the angel, lion, bull, and eagle.[113] The four evangelical signs are situated around a depiction of Christ himself, and each of them gazes up at Christ in heaven. Beneath this scene, the prophet Ezekiel sleeps next to the river Chobar. However, the biblical text (Ezek. 1:10) does not specify that Ezekiel was sleeping when he received his vision. Nonetheless, the basic elements of the Souvigny Bible's historiated initial at the beginning of the book, including the sleeping prophet on the bottom half of the initial beneath the four signs of the evangelists, appear in other Bibles of the period, including the 12th-century Bourges Bible.[114] The illustrator(s) of the Souvigny Bible

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fol. 107v; London, British Library, Burney 3, fol. 90; and London, British Library, Harley 4772, fol. 99. http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8789&CollID=18&NStart=3 (accessed 25 August 2013).

[113] Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale 1, fol. 170, late 12th century. http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/BM/moulins_001-01.htm (accessed 25 August 2013).

[114] Bourges, Bibliothèque Municipale 3, fol. 216v, last quarter of the 12th century. Numerous other examples from the 13th century do not include the figure of Christ but otherwise follow after the model of the Souvigny Bible, Moulins, Médiathèque de Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale classée, Ms. 1, fol. 136; Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 54, fol. 256, *c.*1240–1250; Arles, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1, fol. 357v, third quarter of the 13th century; Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 146 A, fol. 339, *c.*1270–1280; Beaune, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 23, fol. 275v, *c.*1270–1280; Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 4, fol. 349, mid 13th century; Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 7, fol. 82v, mid 13th century or third quarter of the 13th century; Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 26, fol. 219v, last third of the 13th century; Bourges, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 7, fol. 110, late 13th century; Chambéry, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 6, fol. 352v, mid 13th century; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 21, fol. 360, 13th century; Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 4, fol. 263v, *c.*1230–40; Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 7, fol. 402v, mid 13th century; Dole, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 17, fol. 327, 13th century; Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 262, t. III, fol. 169, third quarter of the 13th century; Melun, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 3, fol. 349, third quarter of the 13th century; Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 7, fol. 423v, second third of the 13th century; Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 5, fol. 279, second half of the 13th century; Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 8, fol. 324, 13th century; Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 9, fol. 487, mid 13th century; Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 11, fol. 331, mid 13th century; Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1, fol. 270v, third quarter of the 13th century. For similar depictions, with the prophet reclined on a bed but awake, see Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1, fol. 247, second half of the 13th century; Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 577, fol. 212v, between 1220 and 1226. The illustrator(s) of the Souvigny Bible also chose to represent Isaiah as sleeping, in this case beneath the hand of God, which gestures to him in blessing. http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/index3.html (accessed 25 August 2013).

also chose to represent Isaiah as sleeping, in this case beneath the hand of God, which gestures to him in blessing.[115]

Hence, the Frankenthaler Bible demonstrates the union of the prophet himself and his first word, while the Souvigny Bible underscores the typological reading of the four symbols as the four evangelists by placing Christ squarely above Ezekiel and including Christ in the dream. These motifs are at work in Hildegard's Letter 84R.

Other 12th-century illustrations of Ezekiel abound, and several highlight the wheels of the prophet's vision. The Great Admont Bible (*c.*1140) does not feature a historiated initial but, like the Souvigny Bible, it portrays the prophet as sleeping. He lies underneath an angel and a vision of Christ enthroned.[116] Below him, four men pour water into the mouths of the four creatures, each with wings and a wheel. Troyes BM Ms. 28 t. l., folio 220 (1155–1165) includes a historiated initial for the opening chapter of Ezekiel. The top half of the initial depicts Christ in victory flanked by two angels bearing wheels. The lower half of the initial illustrates Ezekiel instructing a group of six men.[117] Sens BM Ms. 1 (mid 12th century) also begins with a historiated initial "E" of the aforementioned prophetic *Et*.[118] It includes three medallions, two of which depict pairs of Ezekiel's creatures as the symbols of the evangelists. The third medallion depicts the north wind blowing fire.[119] Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale 2 (second quarter of the 12th century) includes a historiated initial introducing the book of Ezekiel, as well as a supplementary illustration immediately above the initial, which also takes the book of Ezekiel as its subject.[120] The illustration portrays God and two angels with three wings, perhaps representing the creatures of Ezekiel 1. Each of the two angels stands on two winged wheels, and a circular shape, perhaps another wheel, appears between the two angels. In the initial below, the prophet gestures to God in the illustration

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[115] Bible of Souvigny, Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1, fol. 136. http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/BM/moulins_001-01.htm (accessed 25 August 2013).

[116] Great Admont Bible [Admonter Riesenbibel], Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Series nova 2701–2702, vol. 1, fol. 206, Ezekiel's vision of God.

[117] Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 28, t. I, fol. 220. Dated 1155–1165 according to information at http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/index3.html (accessed 25 August 2013).

[118] Sens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1, p. 431, mid-12th century. (NOTE: this is a page number, not a folio number, according to information at http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/index3.html [accessed 25 August 2013].)

[119] Ezek. 1:4. Full description is provided on the website, cited above in note 118.

[120] Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2, fol. 195, second quarter of the 12th century; http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/index3.html (accessed 25 August 2013).

above while six men and women look on. He appears to stand next to the river Chobar.

The 12th-century illuminations of Ezekiel surveyed here provide significant contemporary witnesses to the themes of Hildegard's exegesis and the widespread interest in the prophet in her cultural milieu. The features most commonly depicted in the Bibles are the opening word, *Et*, the four creatures, the wheels, and the river Chobar. Hildegard leaves the Chobar unmentioned, but the Bibles' visual emphasis on the other three elements of the prophet's book reflects her exegetical concerns, as well as those of her predecessors.

Furthermore, visual exegesis attests to the link that Hildegard establishes between Ezekiel and John the Evangelist. The *magistra*'s contemporaries depicted the visionary and typological connection between the two prophetic and visionary figures. The frontispiece to the Gospel of John in the Floreffe Bible depicts Ezekiel gesturing toward the tetramorph and the "wheel in the midst of the wheel" (Ezek. 1:16). This mid-12th-century Mosan manuscript, now in the British Library, was produced for the Premonstratensian canons of Floreffe Abbey. The bottom zone of the frontispiece to John's Gospel (f. 199r) reads: *In principio* (Jn. 1:1); the middle area depicts Ezekiel, John, Moses, and Job; and in the upper region, Christ ascendant is flanked by the apostles. Ezekiel is situated to the lower left of Christ. The inscriptions around the frame establish the typological connection between Old and New Testaments, the book of Ezekiel and the Book of Revelation, the prophet and the visionary evangelist. Moreover, the two-page frontispiece to the entire Floreffe Bible depicts the virtues.[121] The illustrations of this Bible develop a visual exegesis that parallels Hildegard's written commentary. Both reflect the inspiration of Gregory the Great on the typological parallels as well as on the role of the virtues.

The importance of Johannine literature to Hildegard's exegetical endeavor extends to a broader identification with the Evangelist as the prophetic author of the book of Revelation. The beloved disciple's

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[121] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley, 2002), pp. 86–87, identifies a sequence attributed to Adam of St Victor that associates the two figures: John perceived the truth of the wheels and revealed the true nature of God. On the frontispiece to the Floreffe Bible, see Anne-Marie Bouché, "The Spirit in the World: The Virtues of the Floreffe Bible Frontispiece: British Library, Add. Ms. 17738, ff. 3v-4r." in *Virtue and Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2000), pp. 42–65; and Anne-Marie Bouché, "'Vox imaginis': Anomaly and Enigma in Romanesque Art," in *The Mind's Eye*, pp. 306–35.

memory enjoyed great favor in German religious communities, and later women visionaries claimed the authority of his inspiration.[122] Hildegard's self-comparison to John the Evangelist appears near the beginning of this development. In her *vita*, Hildegard described the "soft raindrops" that were sprinkled on her soul's knowledge, extinguishing her corporal sensuality (*sensualitas corporis mei*) and turning her knowledge to another mode (*in alium modum*), unknown to her: "The Holy Spirit imbued the evangelist John in a similar way when he sucked the deepest revelation from the breast of Jesus. Then his understanding was so affected by the holy divinity that he opened up hidden mysteries and deeds."[123]

Hildegard's self-association with John the Evangelist occurs elsewhere in her works.[124] For the most part, Hildegard names John upon introducing passages from John's Gospel, the letters, or the Apocalypse.[125] He stands as the revealer of Christ as truth incarnate and as the exemplar and authority of love. A few of these introductory phrases evoke the divine inspiration or visionary prophecy that unites John the Evangelist and Ezekiel in the medieval imagination.

The many references to Ezekielian imagery in Hildegard's writings speak to the rich intertextuality of her *opera*, and the ties between the seer's works and her contemporary visual culture. Her audience would be familiar with the influence of the visionary prophet and the visionary evangelist whom she and her biographer Theodoric claimed as her predecessor and her inspiration. The analysis of her exegesis of the prophet's book further establishes the richness of her biblical interpretation. Hildegard's identification with Ezekiel enhances her claim to prophetic authority, as do her references to John the Evangelist and the two prophetic figures together.

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[122] See Hamburger, *The Deified Evangelist*.

[123] *V. Hild.*, 2.16, p. 43, ll. 1–10: "Subsequenti demum tempore mysticum et mirificam uisionem uidi, ita quod omnia uiscera mea concussa sunt et sensualitas corporis mei extincta est, quoniam scientia mea in alium modum conuersa est, quasi me nescirem. Et de Dei inspiratione in scientiam anime mee quasi gutte suauis pluuie spargebantur, quia et Spiritus Sanctus Iohannem euangelistam imbuit, cum de pectore Iesu profundissimam reuelationem suxit, ubi sensus ipsius sancta diuinitate ita tactus est, quod absconsa mysteria et opera aperuit, 'In principio erat uerbum,' et cetera." *Life of Hildegard*, pp. 66–67.

[124] In a letter to Guibert of Gembloux, she contrasts herself with the wise, who fall out of vainglory, while she likens her own humility to the Evangelist's; *Epistolarium*, II, 103R, p. 260, ll. 44–52.

[125] The *magistra* often refers to John as John the beloved (*dilectus meus*), or John the beloved evangelist. See *Scivias* 1.2, p. 31, l. 634; *Scivias* 1.3, p. 58, l. 619; *Scivias* 2.2, p. 126, l. 70; *Scivias* 2.5, p. 198, l. 898; *Scivias* 3.11, p. 595, l. 668; *Scivias* 3.11, p. 603, l. 912; *Scivias* 3.7, p. 470, ll. 287–88.

HEARING THE HEAVENLY SYMPHONY: AN OVERVIEW OF HILDEGARD'S MUSICAL OEUVRE WITH CASE STUDIES

Tova Leigh-Choate, William T. Flynn, and Margot E. Fassler

This chapter introduces the musical dimensions of Hildegard's visionary experiences and the works that emerged from them. Hildegard herself claimed that music—the heavenly *symphonia*—was an integral part of "what she saw and heard."[1] By any standards, medieval or modern, the anchoress-turned-abbess composed a remarkable body of songs, many of whose texts are embedded within her visionary treatises and other works, in addition to their melodic settings in surviving manuscripts. From the song texts in the final vision of *Scivias* to the collected works notated in the Riesenkodex, Hildegard's songs cannot be separated from her oeuvre as a whole or from the Benedictine and other ecclesiastical circles in which she moved.

We begin with two overviews to provide a framework for discussing Hildegard's music. The first is a critical overview of scholarship concerning Hildegard's collection of liturgical songs, the *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum*, and her music drama *Ordo uirtutum*, including a summary of the manuscripts. The second discusses the chronology of the works themselves and describes their possible layers of development. We then offer analytical case studies of what seem to be Hildegard's earliest musical compositions: the *Scivias* songs, represented by the song *(Nam) O vos angeli*, and the *Ordo*.

An Overview of the Scholarly Literature: Editions and Translations

Some of the most influential scholarly works are the several editions of Hildegard's chants and her music drama, both for the texts and music they provide scholars and performers, and for their translations, commentaries,

[1] Hildegard consistently described her visions in audio-visual terms, repeatedly using the construction *uidi et audiui*, e.g. Letter 1 in *Epistolarium*, I, pp. 4–5, ll. 38–39: "quia magnos labores habeo in hac uisione, quatenus dicam quod uidi et audiui," and the opening of her final vision in *Scivias* 3.13, p. 614, l. 27: "Deinde uidi lucidissimum aerem, in quo audiui." The authors are grateful to Jane Flynn for her assistance with this chapter.

notes, and bibliographies. *Hildegard von Bingen: Internationale Wissenschaftliche Bibliographie* has only minimal coverage of music.[2] Detailed current bibliographies accompany the critical editions of the song texts and of the text of the *Ordo*, as well as the study *Hildegard von Bingen: Der Klang des Himmels*.[3]

The sources for the *Symphonia* and the *Ordo* differ to a degree. Although at least four 12th- or early 13th-century neumed versions of the *Symphonia* existed, three of which certainly contained the *Ordo*, only two survive: the Riesenkodex, which contains both the *Symphonia* and the *Ordo*; and the fragmentary Dendermonde codex (hereafter Dendermonde), which contains 57 songs but lacks the *Ordo* and the remaining songs (more on these sources below). The two other collections known to have contained the songs and the drama are Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 721 (lost *c.*1800), and the manuscript from which Johannes Trithemius, abbot of Sponheim, had a fully neumed copy of the *Ordo* produced in the 15th century, London, British Library. Add. Ms. 15102. Several stray copies of songs are found elsewhere, mostly unnotated. The textual tradition of Hildegard's music also includes her first theological treatise, *Scivias*; Hildegard incorporated a group of song texts (which we call the *Scivias* songs) and a version of the drama into the final vision of its third and last book. In addition, a liturgical miscellany found in the Riesenkodex contains 30 of her song texts. These texts comprise a textual authority independent from the songs as notated in the two music fascicles of the manuscript.

Hildegard's complete musical works were first edited by Pudentiana Barth, Immaculata Ritscher, and Joseph Schmidt-Görg.[4] The editors transcribed the *Symphonia* and *Ordo* into square chant notation with classicized spellings, following Dendermonde for its 57 songs, then copying the remainder from the Riesenkodex. Like those who followed them, they depended on the edition and German translation of the *Ordo* by Maura

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[2] Ed. Werner Lauter (Mainz, 1998).

[3] *Symph.*, pp. 371–477; *Ordo*, pp. 503–21; and Marianne Richert Pfau and Stefan Johannes Morent, *Hildegard von Bingen: Der Klang des Himmels* (Cologne, 2005). The serial bibliographies *Medioevo Latino* (Spoleto, 1980–) and *Medioevo Musicale. Bollettino bibliografico della musica medievale* (Florence, 1998–); the *International Medieval Bibliography* (Turnhout, and online); *Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale*, the annotated serial bibliography for music literature (New York, and online); and *Oxford Music Online* offer updates. Reports on new scholarship and recordings also appear yearly in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*. For a recent discography, see Pfau and Morent, *Klang des Himmels*, pp. 388–89.

[4] Pudentiana Barth, Immaculata Ritscher, and Joseph Schmidt-Görg, eds. *Hildegard von Bingen: Lieder* (Salzburg, 1969).

Böckeler;[5] unfortunately, however, they adopted a few emendations from the version found in *Scivias*. Transcriptions of the songs by Marianne Richert Pfau account for most variants between the two surviving manuscripts, and include brief but learned commentaries.[6] For observations concerning mode and other musical features, Pfau draws upon her dissertation.[7] Christopher Page's transcriptions formed the basis for his highly successful recording, *A Feather on the Breath of God*, as well as for his later publication of the songs.[8] In addition to the musical transcriptions by Barth *et al.*, there is a performance edition of the *Ordo* by Audrey Davidson, and Vincent Corrigan has prepared a critical edition that takes into account the readings of Trithemius's copy.[9]

One of the most influential publications in the field continues to be Barbara Newman's edition and translations of the chant texts (*Symph.* (Eng.)). Most scholars writing in English use either Newman's "poetic" or her literal readings of each lyric. Her introduction and notes are crucial for their close readings and contextualizations. She used this work as the basis for her critical edition of the song texts published in *Opera minora*. Newman provides an introduction to the manuscripts and to Jean-Baptiste Pitra's edition of the poetry, and prefers a few readings found in the miscellany in the Riesenkodex.[10] Newman also references the *Symphonia* edition, translation, and notes by Walter Berschin and Heinrich Schipperges, who include a complete list of medieval manuscripts known to contain one or more of Hildegard's song texts, and a table showing which chants are in these 16 sources.[11] Peter Dronke edited and translated

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[5] Maura Böckeler, ed., *Der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen. Reigen der Tugenden: Ordo Virtutum: Ein Singspiel*, music transcription by Pudentiana Barth (Berlin, 1927).

[6] *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum*, 8 vols. (Bryn Mawr, 1993–98).

[7] Marianne Richert Pfau, "Hildegard von Bingen's 'Symphonia Armonie Celestium Revelationum': An analysis of musical process, modality, and text-music relations" (Diss., SUNY Stony Brook, 1990).

[8] Recorded in 1981 (LP release, London, 1982; CD release, London 1986). The transcriptions as well as the texts and translations were published as *Sequences and Hymns. Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum. Selections*, ed. Christopher Page (Lustleigh, Newton Abbot, Devon, England, 1983).

[9] Audrey Davidson, *The 'Ordo virtutum' of Hildegard* (Kalamazoo, 1985; second edition Bryn Mawr, 2002). *Hildegard of Bingen, Ordo Virtutum: A Comparative Edition*, ed. by Vincent Corrigan (Lions Bay, B.C., 2013). Corrigan's edition is based on the Riesenkodex, and collates the musical readings found in London, British Library, Add. Ms. 15102.

[10] Jean-Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Analecta Sanctae Hildegardis* in *Analecta Sacra*, vol. 8 (Monte Cassino, 1882).

[11] Hildegard von Bingen, *Symphonia: Gedichte und Gesänge*, eds. Walter Berschin and Heinrich Schipperges (Gerlingen, 1995).

the text of the *Ordo* in his *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, and he produced a critical edition taking into account the text of Trithemius's copy.[12]

The two major music manuscripts that survive were both produced at the Rupertsberg in Hildegard's lifetime, and both are available in facsimile editions. *Symphonia harmoniae caelestium revelationum: Dendermonde* contains a brief introduction to Dendermonde and its music by Peter van Poucke.[13] Crucial further information about the music fascicle is found in Newman's introduction in *Opera minora* and in Angela Carlevaris's introduction to *Liber vite meritorum.* Dendermonde surely predates 1176, when the Cistercian monks of Villers thanked Hildegard for it.[14] It contains the earliest neumed collection of Hildegard's songs, possibly prepared under the supervision of Hildegard's secretary, Volmar (d. 1173).[15] The facsimile edition of the two music fascicles of the Riesenkodex, *Hildegard von Bingen, Lieder. Faksimile Riesencodex*, offers notes and commentary by Michael Klaper in both English and German.[16] The volume also includes full transcriptions of Hildegard's sequence for St Rupert, *O Ierusalem*, and the responsory *O vos imitatores*, which survives in three neumed versions.[17] The music fascicles of the Riesenkodex are independent and may have been added when the manuscript was compiled. Some scholars believe that the scribe who copied a few pages of *Scivias* (fols 46–48) also copied the song and drama texts, and, some speculate, also the neumes.

The introductory discussions of neumes and scribal hands in the two facsimiles are useful for learning to sing and transcribe both text and music from the sources. Codicological and paleographical observations can be placed in the context of earlier studies of the Rupertsberg scriptorium,

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[12] Peter Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 147–84, with notes and introduction. The critical edition is *Ordo.*

[13] Peter van Poucke, ed., *Hildegard of Bingen: Symphonia harmoniae caelestium revelationum: Dendermonde St.-Pieters & Paulusabdij Ms. Cod. 9* (Peer, 1991).

[14] *Epistolarium I*, 107, p. 268. See *Guiberti Gemblacensis Epistolae quae in codice B. R. BRUX. 5527–5534 inueniuntur I*, ed. by A. Derolez, CCCM 66 (Turnhout, 1988), Letter 21, pp. 245–47.

[15] Newman, Introduction to *Symph.*, p. 338.

[16] *Hildegard von Bingen, Lieder. Faksimile Riesencodex [Hs. 2] der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden, fol. 466–48rv*, ed. Lorenz Welker, trans. Lori Kruckenberg (Wiesbaden, 1998).

[17] In Dendermonde, the Riesenkodex, and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Theol. Phil. 4° 253, a compendium of various materials, with scribes from the Disibodenberg, the Rupertsberg, and Wiesbaden.

most importantly the work of Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter.[18] Albert Derolez and Peter Dronke, especially in their introduction to *Liber diuinorum operum* (1996), and Berschin and Schipperges in their edition and translation of the *Symphonia* (1995), have refined the work of Schrader and Führkötter, notably by redating most of the Riesenkodex to Hildegard's lifetime. Klaper summarizes the state of the music in his commentary for the Riesenkodex facsimile. All notated sources appear to have been prepared at the Rupertsberg; employ a common style of neumation; and place the neumes on four-line staves, with the f-line colored red and the c-line yellow. Although surviving sources depict a fairly stable melodic tradition, their frequent erasures and emendations sometimes cause particular problems for editors. It is often difficult to say whether variants are "mistakes" or differing scribal preferences. On the whole, and with regard to the *Symphonia*, the state of variants and use of accidentals suggest that Dendermonde should generally be preferred over the Riesenkodex; each case, however, requires its own consideration.

Very useful for the study of Hildegard's music and its contexts is her correspondence, edited in *Epistolarium*, I–III, and translated into English in *Letters*. William T. Flynn's article, "'The Soul is Symphonic': Meditation on Luke 15:25 and Hildegard of Bingen's Letter 23," demonstrates ways in which Hildegard's letters and other literature clarify her musical perspectives.[19] Anna Silvas compiled and translated a collection of texts that illuminates the context of Hildegard's music and liturgical understanding; she included not only select letters, but also selections from the chronicles and charters of the Disibodenberg, various documents from Sponheim, the Life of Jutta, Hildegard's *vita* (according to the edition *V. Hild.*), and materials from the failed 13th-century attempt to have Hildegard canonized.[20]

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[18] Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter, *Die Echtheit des Schrifttums der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen* (Cologne, 1956).

[19] William T. Flynn, "'The Soul is Symphonic': Meditation on Luke 15:25 and Hildegard of Bingen's Letter 23," in *Music and Theology: Essays in Honor of Robin A. Leaver*, ed. Daniel Zager (Lanham, Md., 2007), pp. 1–8. See also Margot Fassler, "Hildegard's Virtues—Angels and Ideas—as found in *Scivias* and Some Related Musical Compositions," in *Unversehrt und unverletzt. Hildegards Menschenbild und Kirchenverständnis heute*, ed. Rainer Berndt with Maura Zátonyi, Erudiri Sapientia, (Münster, forthcoming).

[20] Anna Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources* (University Park, Penn., 1998).

Studies Directly Concerned with Hildegard's Music and Select Shorter Studies

Joseph Gmelch wrote what was apparently the first pamphlet-length treatment of Hildegard's music, and it contains a rather poor photographic facsimile of the music of the Riesenkodex.[21] Ludwig Bronarski's dissertation, written in 1922 at the University of Leipzig, was the first analytical study of Hildegard's music.[22] Bronarski concentrated on its formulaic nature, finding the music to be a sterile patchwork of small melodic cells. Decades passed before another scholar would write a book about Hildegard's chants, although Eibingen nuns (most importantly Maura Böckeler and Pudentiana Barth) continued to edit and comment upon them. The attention that recordings brought to Hildegard's music (beginning especially with Page's *Feather*) reawakened scholarly interest, resulting in Newman's edition and translation of the song texts (1988, 2nd ed. 1998: *Symph.* (Eng.)).

Marianne Richert Pfau's dissertation (1990, cited above), the first full-scale study of Hildegard's chants since Bronarski, argues that Hildegard used formulae creatively, as part of a generative musical process. In her dissertation, and in an essay included in *Symph.* (Eng.), Pfau demonstrates that music and texts need to be considered together to ascertain Hildegard's compositional strategies. Her most recent book, written with Stefan Morent, emphasizes the theological and liturgical meanings of Hildegard's music while offering analytical studies of some songs.[23] Morent also offers a detailed analysis of the *Ordo*, demonstrating the symbolic role of modal choice.

Barbara Stühlmeyer's book, *Die Gesänge der Hildegard von Bingen*,[24] is similar to Pfau and Morent's in orientation and remains especially important for situating Hildegard's music within the musical and liturgical contexts of her time and geographical region. As such, the work compares with Catherine Jeffreys' dissertation, written a few years previously.[25] Stühlmeyer transcribes several office chants composed by others from the

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[21] Joseph Gmelch, *Die Kompositionen der heiligen Hildegard* (Düsseldorf, 1913).

[22] Ludwig Bronarski, *Die Lieder der heiligen Hildegard: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der geistlichen Musik des Mittelalters* (Diss., Universität Leipzig, 1922; published Zurich, 1922).

[23] Pfau and Morent, *Klang des Himmels*.

[24] Barbara Stühlmeyer, *Die Gesänge der Hildegard von Bingen: Eine musikologische, theologische und kulturhistorische Untersuchung*, Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft 30 (Hildesheim, 2003).

[25] Catherine M. Jeffreys, "'Melodia et Rhetorica': the Devotional-Song Repertory of Hildegard of Bingen" (Diss., University of Melbourne, 2000).

region and demonstrates that Hildegard's music, albeit unique in some ways, nevertheless belongs to their sphere. Jeffreys examines the music in early copies of the *Speculum Virginum* and finds that Hildegard and her music relate to developments in the Rhineland in the 12th century.[26] This contextualizing trend can also be seen in the studies of Jennifer Bain, who places Hildegard's style in the context of the theorist/composer Hermannus Contractus of Reichenau.[27] Sheila Mary Forrester's dissertation (2001) offers another theoretical study of the music, from the perspective of hexachordal segmentation.[28] Within a broad cultural analysis, Bruce Holsinger interprets Hildegard's music as expressive of homoerotic desire in his textual study of the corporeality of music production and reception through the Middle Ages.[29]

A number of essay collections dedicated to Hildegard of Bingen have been published, one in the 800th year of her death,[30] as well as several in celebration of her ninth centennial year. Some of the latter contain articles on music, as do several other compendia devoted to music and religion, music by women composers, or music in the Middle Ages. These articles typically: try to explain Hildegard as a composer; treat a single song, a particular group of works, or the *Ordo*; or deal with context. General studies of Hildegard as composer and an examination of her sequences are found in *Prophetin durch die Zeiten*, including Karlheinz Schlager's study of the sequence melodies, Barbara Thornton's discussion of Hildegard's metaphysics, and Barbara Stühlmeyer's allegorical interpretation of her music.[31] The collection *Voice of the Living Light*, edited by

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[26] Catherine M. Jeffreys, "'Listen, Daughters of Light': The 'Epithalamium' and Musical Innovation in Twelfth-Century Germany," in *Listen, Daughter: the 'Speculum Virginum' and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant Mews (New York, 2001), pp. 137–58.

[27] See Jennifer Bain, "Hildegard, Hermannus, and Late Chant Style," *Journal of Music Theory* 52 (2008): 123–49; and Bain, "Hooked on Ecstasy: Performance 'Practice' and the Reception of the Music of Hildegard of Bingen," in *The Sounds and Sights of Performance in Early Music: Essays in Honor of Timothy J. McGee*, ed. Brian Power and Maureen Epp (Burlington, 2009), pp. 253–74.

[28] Sheila Mary Forrester, "Hexachordal Segmentation as Analytical Method Applied to Hildegard von Bingen's Symphonia" (Diss., Florida State University, 2001).

[29] Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford, 2001).

[30] Anton Brück, ed., *Hildegard von Bingen, 1179–1979: Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen* (Mainz, 1979).

[31] *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten. Zum 900. Geburtstag*, eds. Edeltraud Forster and Konvent der Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Hildegard (Freiburg, 1997): Karlheinz Schlager, "Die Sequenz als Lehrstück: Melodien der Hildegard von Bingen zwischen Inspiration und Redaktion," pp. 296–312; Barbara Thornton, "Zur Metaphysik der Musik.

Barbara Newman, includes essays on the music by Margot Fassler and on the song texts by Newman.[32] Another anniversary collection, edited by Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke, includes studies by Walter Berschin of the Ursula Office chants and by John Stevens of her antiphons.[33] Another essay by Barbara Stühlmeyer on music in the 12th century appears in the catalogue produced by Hans-Jürgen Kotzur to accompany the centennial exhibit at the cathedral museum in Mainz.[34] Later collections focusing on medieval music include *Mittelalter-Sehnsucht?*, which offers four essays on Hildegard's reception history in the 20th century by Gabrielle Lautenschläger, Michael Klaper, Birgit Kiupel, and Stefan Morent.[35] The collections *Psalms in Community* and *Women's Voices across Musical Worlds* contain essays by Margot Fassler on the liturgical context of Hildegard's songs and the *Ordo*,[36] and Fassler's recent study of the sequence *Matthias Sanctus* considers Volmar as Hildegard's probable musical amanuensis.[37] More recently, Stephen D'Evelyn has published articles on Hildegard's song lyrics and views on music, and Cecilia Panti has surveyed the reception

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Der Ausdrucksgehalt der Modi und die musikalischen Werke Hildegards von Bingen," pp. 313–33; Barbara Stühlmeyer, "Auf der Suche nach der Stimme des lebendigen Geistes. Die Musik Hildegards von Bingen als Sinnbild vollendeter Schöpfung," pp. 334–38.

[32] *Voice*; Margot Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist. 'Melodious Singing and the Freshness of Remorse,'" pp. 149–75; Newman, "Poet. 'Where the Living Majesty Utters Mysteries,'" pp. 176–92.

[33] Walter Berschin, "Eine Offiziendichtung in der 'Symphonia' Hildegards von Bingen: Ursula und die Elftausend Jungfrauen (carm. 44)," in *Context*, pp. 157–62; John Stevens, "The Musical Individuality of Hildegard's Songs: A Liturgical Shadowland," pp. 163–88.

[34] Hans-Jürgen Kotzur, Winfried Wilhelmy, and Ines Koring, eds., *Hildegard von Bingen, 1098–1179. 17.4.–16.8. 1998: Katalog zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Dom- und Diözesanmuseum Mainz* (Mainz, 1998).

[35] Annette Kreutziger-Herr and Dorothea Redepenning, eds., *Mittelalter-Sehnsucht? Texte des interdisziplinären Symposions zur musikalischen Mittelalterrezeption an der Universität Heidelberg, April 1998* (Kiel, 2000): Gabrielle Lautenschläger, "'Eine Erde der Lebendigen'—Die Kirche als Mysterium und Institution bei Hildegard von Bingen," pp. 187–200; Michael Klaper, "Anmerkungen zur Überlieferung von einer musikalisch-schöpferischen Tätigkeit der Hildegard von Bingen," pp. 201–19; Birgit Kiupel, "Eine Allround-Nonne? Moderne Visionen von Hildegard von Bingen," pp. 221–42; and Stefan Morent, "Mittelalter-Rezeption im Spiegel der Aufführungspraxis," pp. 243–61.

[36] Margot Fassler, "Hildegard and the Dawn Song of Lauds: An Introduction to Benedictine Psalmody," in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions*, eds. Harold Attridge and Margot Fassler (Atlanta, 2003), pp. 215–39; and Fassler, "Music for the Love Feast: Hildegard of Bingen and the Song of Songs," in *Women's Voices across Musical Worlds*, ed. Jane Bernstein (Boston, 2004), pp. 92–117.

[37] Margot Fassler, "Volmar, Hildegard, and St. Matthias," in *Medieval Music in Practice: Studies in Honor of Richard Crocker*, ed. Judith A. Peraino, Miscellanea 7 (Middleton, Wisconsin and Münster, 2013), pp. 85–109.

and interpretation of her music and offered an analysis of "Hildegard's manifesto," the sequence *O virga ac diadema*.[38]

Several issues are contested in these essays, some of which we will address in our case studies: the extent to which Hildegard's music was part of actual liturgical performance; cogent analytical strategies; interactions between text and music; questions of performance practice; historical and modern meanings of her music; and ways her music relates to her thought in general and to the rest of her writings in particular.

Chronology and Compositional Layers in Hildegard's Liturgical Music

Most of Hildegard's surviving music grew out of her visionary response to the liturgy, which allowed her to conceptualize her new song as an authentic vision of the *symphonia* that brings heavenly and earthly worship together in *harmonia*. Destined principally for liturgical use, her songs are transmitted in text-only versions without liturgical rubrics, and as notated chants with rubrics indicating feasts and genres. Their manuscript transmission suggests several stages at which individual songs or groups of songs were organized into larger collections, providing a series of dates when specific songs are known to be extant. Evidence from Hildegard's letters and other historical sources suggests possible dates or occasions when songs were initially produced. Combining both forms of evidence, we may approximate dates or date ranges for the production of most of Hildegard's songs, providing a rough chronology of her liturgical music.

Written Sources

Some written sources support Hildegard's claim that her songs had heavenly and visionary origins. This is apparent early on when Hildegard included a group of song texts and a short, text-only version of the *Ordo*

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[38] Stephen D'Evelyn, "Heaven as Performance and Participation in Hildegard of Bingen's *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum*," in *Envisaging Heaven in the Middle Ages*, eds. Carolyn Muessig and Ad Putter (London, 2007), pp. 155–65; D'Evelyn, "Images of Music in the Lyrics of Hildegard of Bingen," in *Poesía Latin Medieval (siglos V–XV): Actas del IV Congreso del "Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee" Santiago de Compostela, 12–15 de septembre de 2002*, eds. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz and José M. Díaz de Bustamente (Florence, 2005), pp. 665–74; and Cecilia Panti, "A Woman's Voice through the Centuries: Hildegard of Bingen's Music Today," in *The Past in the Present: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, eds. Fabio Mugnaini, Pádraig Ó Héalaí, and Tok Freeland Thompson (Catania, 2006), pp. 15–40.

in the last vision of *Scivias* (3.13), finished by 1151. Several intermediate series of song texts (excluding the *Scivias* songs) were redacted as letters addressed to the Rupertsberg community (see especially Letters 192 and 390); however, these are of dubious epistolary character. More likely, they contain material delivered in chapter meetings or at the evening meal, when Hildegard often would have taught, especially on feast days. Thus, the different series of songs may have been compiled from individual leaves or small booklets prepared for specific occasions; these were then organized into the various intermediate collections, some of which were subsequently gathered into what Newman calls the "liturgical miscellany" of homiletic, visionary, and (30) lyric texts.[39] With three texts dedicated to St Rupert and many to the Virgin, both patrons of Hildegard's convent on the Rupertsberg, this repertory may extend to the early 1150s, before individual songs and groups of songs were collected into the miscellany, perhaps in the mid to late 1150s. The miscellany may indeed be associated with the "symphonia harmonie celestium reuelationum" mentioned at the beginning of Hildegard's *Liber vite meritorum* (*c.*1158).

Hildegard's final years (*c.*1174–1179) seem to have seen another concerted effort to collect and organize her songs, with particular attention paid to fixing the melodies in pitch-secure notation and classifying them according to liturgical function and genre. The *Scivias* songs, the long version of the *Ordo*, and all but four songs in the miscellany are included in notated collections. At present, four 12th-century sources preserving one or more notated songs are known, and the musical sections of two of them have appeared in facsimile editions. The manuscripts are as follows:

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Theol. Phil. 4° 253: Compiled *c.*1154–1170 with scribal hands identified from Zwiefalten, Disibodenberg, and Rupertsberg. Folios 27r–59v and 75r–93v contain 135 letters from Hildegard's correspondence, including 13 song texts, two on fol. 28r and 11 on fols 53v–55r. Folio 42v contains a notated version of the responsory *O vos imitatores*. The compilation date suggests that this is Hildegard's earliest surviving notated song; however, the leaf containing it served as the unbound cover sheet of a gathering, so it could have been copied into the manuscript later, when notated versions of Hildegard's music became available.

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[39] Newman, Introduction to *Symph.*, p. 340, following Lieven Van Acker, "Der Briefwechsel der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen. Vorbemerkungen zu einer kritischen Edition," *Revue Bénédictine* 98 (1988): 141–68; 99 (1989): 118–54.

Dendermonde, St.-Pieters-&-Paulusabdij, Klosterbibliothek 9 (Dendermonde): Compiled *c.*1163–1175 at the Rupertsberg, and at the Cistercian cloister of Villers by November 1, 1176. Folios 153r–170v contain 57 notated songs with rubrics indicating liturgical occasion and genre. *O frondens virga* and *Laus trinitati* are notated only in this manuscript, which may once have contained a larger repertory. As extant, the manuscript is probably missing its opening gathering, and two of the remaining three gatherings with music are defective: a folio is missing between fols 155v and 156r and between 164v and 165r.[40] The manuscript may have contained approximately seven additional songs and may have opened with the *Ordo*.[41] It includes copies of Hildegard's *Liber vite meritorum* and Elisabeth of Schönau's *Liber viarum Dei*.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1016: Most of the manuscript dates from the 13th century, probably stemming from the monastery of St Maria in Rommersdorf, near Bonn, and it contains Hildegard's *Liber vite meritorum* (fols 1r–108v) and *Solutiones* (fols 108v–115v). However, one gathering (fols 116r–121v) was written during the 12th century at Rupertsberg and contains letters incorporating 21 song texts of the "liturgical miscellany." This gathering also contains notated versions of Hildegard's *Kyrie* and *Alleluia, O virga mediatrix* on fol. 118v, and Hildegard's invented alphabet (*litterae ignotae*), entered on music staves, followed by a repeat of the notated version of the second *Kyrie* on fol. 119r. (The *Kyrie* and *Alleluia* are also notated in the Riesenkodex.) The *Kyrie* is a contrafactum based on Hildegard's responsory *O lucidissima apostolorum*, found notated in Dendermonde. Since Dendermonde does not contain the *Kyrie* itself, the notated music of Vienna 1016 probably postdates Dendermonde's compilation.

Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek 2 (Riesenkodex): The manuscript was compiled at the Rupertsberg and contained Hildegard's principal works prior to her death in 1179. Her *vita* and other materials relevant to her cult were added between 1182 and 1188. Folios 132va–134rb contain the *Scivias* songs and the short form of the *Ordo*. Folios 404rb–407vb contain the "liturgical miscellany" with its 30 song texts. The two final gatherings (fols 466ra–481vb) contain 75 notated songs and the notated *Ordo*.

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[40] Newman, Introduction to *Symph.*, p. 338.
[41] Dronke, Introduction to *Ordo*, p. 495.

Fifty-five of the songs are notated in Dendermonde, and two others in Vienna 1016, leaving eighteen songs notated only here.

Liturgical Origins

The written sources clearly indicate that the song texts and the short (text-only) version of the *Ordo* in *Scivias* 3.13 are Hildegard's earliest known lyric works. Although Hildegard dated the authorizing vision that prompted *Scivias* to 1141, the songs may have predated their compilation into its last vision since they contain a liturgical form of address to the saints, invoking them directly. Moreover, the whole third book of *Scivias* (which uses an architectural metaphor to describe the building up of the New Jerusalem) has striking connections to the building program that punctuated Hildegard's early life at the Disibodenberg. From 1130–1146, altars were dedicated and chapels built there in honor of the seven categories of saints in *Scivias* 3.13: Mary (1146), Angels (1143), Apostles (1135), Martyrs (1130), Confessors (1138), and Virgins (1138).[42] Even Patriarchs and Prophets were represented by the dedication in 1143 of an altar located in the vestry to John the Baptist, whom Hildegard singled out as the greatest prophet.[43] Moreover, the Disibodenberg altars align broadly with the symbolic geography in *Scivias* 3, in which the Jealousy of God (*Zelus Dei*, associated with proclamation) faces north, and the Tower of the Church (*Turris Ecclesiae*, personified as female) looks south. At Disibodenberg, the men's community and altars dedicated to Apostles, Confessors, and the prophet John the Baptist occupied the north side, while the women's community and altars to Martyrs and Virgins occupied the south. Thus, the *Scivias* songs may have originated in specific dedications or in their subsequent annual commemoration.

The *Ordo* may also be tied to events at the Disibodenberg. Its narrative is anticipated in Hildegard's vision of 1136, following the death of Jutta. Recounted in the ninth chapter of Jutta's *vita* (*c.*1139), this vision depicted the struggle between the devil and the saints (especially John the Evangelist) over Jutta's soul as it progressed towards heaven.[44] A liturgical drama on that theme would have particularly suited the dedication of a chapel in 1142 in honor of Mary Magdalene, the penitent sinner, who (with the

[42] *Scivias* 3.13, p. 614.
[43] Ibid., 2.1.10, pp. 117–18.
[44] For Jutta's *vita*, see Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, pp. 46–84.

other women disciples) was often considered to be a precursor of women monastics.[45]

Hildegard seems to have produced most of her songs for specific saints after moving to the Rupertsberg around 1148. The move itself would have created the need for songs honoring St Rupert. Hildegard's dedication chants were likely composed for the rededication of the Rupertsberg church on 1 May 1151/1152.[46] Although its patron was Rupert, its dedication was to the Virgin, so the nine song texts honoring Mary in Letter 192 (dated by Van Acker before 1153) may also have arisen from an ambitious dedicatory program.

Other songs honoring specific saints reflect Hildegard's ties to other monasteries. She included three songs for St Disibod in Letter 74r (dated by Van Acker before 1155), responding to her abbot's request for revelations concerning the saint. Hildegard may have written them at this time or during her earlier residence on Disibod's mount.[47] Hildegard's visit to Trier in 1160 may have prompted some or all of the chants for the saints venerated there (Eucharius, Matthias, and Maximin), although she was in friendly association with the monastery of Sts Eucharius and Matthias as early as 1148. The two songs dedicated to St John the Evangelist may have been inspired by the authorizing vision in 1163 that led to Hildegard's last great work, the *Liber diuinorum operum*. The prologue to John's Gospel and the Apocalypse (then attributed to John) became central texts for this work, and the songs share much of their language and imagery with the Biblical texts. Although we lack a full record of the relics held at the Rupertsberg during her life, Hildegard's large repertory for the Ursuline martyrs could be due to the acquisition of a relic from the named martyr St Saturia; the convent most likely obtained the relic between 1167 and 1173, after Philip of Heinsberg became archbishop of Cologne and visited the Rupertsberg.[48]

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[45] Abelard provided a full treatment of this theme in Letter 7, "On the origin of nuns," ed. J.T. Muckle in "The Letter of Heloise on Religious Life and Abelard's First Reply," *Medieval Studies* 17 (1955): 240–81.

[46] Citing arguments that the dedication of 1152 was only that of a newly restored chapel, Hugh Feiss suggests in *Two Hagiographies*, p. 22, that the Rupert songs, in particular the sequence *O Ierusalem*, may have been composed closer to 1170, by which time a new monastery church could have been built and dedicated.

[47] John Van Engen, "Letters and the Public Persona of Hildegard," in *Umfeld*, pp. 375–418, at 389, argues for an origin at the Disibodenberg.

[48] Saturia was spelled Satyria in the only document identifying her relics at the Rupertsberg. The argument for dating the presence of her relics to the Rupertsberg is circumstantial but suggestive; see William T. Flynn, *"Veiled with Variety": Hildegard of Bingen's Office*

None of the songs dedicated to the persons of the Trinity can be dated precisely, yet we know the period (around the late 1150s) when her idea of a collection of songs in honor of "God and the saints" began to take shape. Since liturgical celebration is inherently cyclic, much of Hildegard's repertory could have developed years after liturgical events, such as altar, church, or chapel dedications. Even so, such events (to the extent that they can be determined) may help explain the creation of various clusters of songs in the repertory, such as the *Scivias* songs, the large Marian repertory from the 1150s, and the later songs in honor of specific named saints. Finally, although music and text seem to have been created together, the redaction into pitch-secure notation appears to have been a project of Hildegard's final years.

(Nam) O vos angeli—Scivias *Text or* Scivias *Song?*

The text of *O vos angeli* appears as the second part of the song text *O gloriosissimi lux uiuens angeli* in honor of the angels in Hildegard's *Scivias* 3.13, where it is linked to the first part through the awkward construction *Nam, O vos angeli*.[49] The two parts together present a coherent description of the origin, fall, and character of the angelic orders, which closely mirrors the order, argumentation, and content of Gregory the Great's Gospel Homily on Luke's parables of the lost sheep and the lost drachma (Lk. 15:3–10).[50] Like all of Hildegard's songs, they are also intimately connected to her visionary works and the corresponding illuminations. Indeed, in *Scivias* 3.13, Hildegard directs the reader to earlier visions in *Scivias*, stating that within the heavenly *symphonia* she heard "all the meanings mentioned before" (*omnes praedictae significationes*).[51] *O gloriosissimi* presents a poetic summary of material first treated in *Scivias* 1.2, and *Nam, O vos angeli* largely summarizes material from *Scivias* 1.6, as well as from the illuminations for *Scivias* 2.1–3.[52] Since the two parts recapitulate material

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for Saint Ursula and the Rhetoric of Twelfth-Century Women's Monasticism (forthcoming). For the visit of Philip, see *Epistolarium*, I, 16, pp. 48–49.

[49] *Scivias* 3.13, p. 616.

[50] Gunilla Iversen noted the relationship to Gregory's text in "'O vos angeli': Hildegard's Lyrical and Visionary Texts on the Celestial Hierarchies in the Context of her Time," in *Angesicht*, pp. 87–113, at 106. William Flynn details the relationship in "Singing with the Angels: Hildegard of Bingen's Representations of Celestial Music," in *Conversations with Angels: Essays Towards a History of Spiritual Communication, 1100–1700*, ed. Joad Raymond (Houndsmills, 2011), pp. 203–29.

[51] *Scivias* 3.13, p. 614.

[52] For more on the connections, see Flynn, "Singing with the Angels."

from different visions, they may well have been conceived independently and only later linked. Thus, their presentation as two separate songs in the later notated sources may reflect an earlier state of the texts than the one extant in *Scivias*.

O vos angeli exists in two fully notated versions (Dendermonde, fol. 159r–v, and Riesenkodex, fol. 468va–b). Rubrics in both sources indicate the song's genre (*Responsorium*) and its form, marking the verse and the incipit of the *repetendum*. They do not specify a liturgical occasion; as in *Scivias*, the song receives the simple rubric *De angelis* ("about the angels"), perhaps indicating its appropriateness for multiple votive offices and for specific feasts like that of St Michael and All Angels (for which Gregory's homily was often excerpted for matins). It may be significant that the dedication of the Disibodenberg monastery took place on this feast in 1143, and that its old Augustinian church was rededicated (date unknown) as a chapel to St Michael and All Angels. *O vos angeli* certainly falls into the category of prolix responsories used as responses to the readings at matins (and sung at lauds and vespers on major feasts), or as processional chants sung stationally at appropriate altars on votive and festal occasions.

It is impossible to determine the extent to which the notated music of *O vos angeli*, first extant in Dendermonde (25 years after the completion of *Scivias*), represents the music Hildegard claimed to have heard in her vision. Although evidence suggests that the fixing of her music in pitch-secure notation may have been a project of Hildegard's final years, her songs may have existed in a variety of notated forms before then, including non-diastematic neumes similar to those in the regional manuscript Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek 103.[53] Furthermore, Hildegard's late disavowal of technical knowledge about neumes and chant in an autobiographical portion of her *vita* (*c.*1177) cannot be taken at face value. In saying, "I brought forth chant with melody although I had never learned neumes or chant,"[54] Hildegard asserted that her ability to produce song came before she had learned notation or music theory. Although this statement may be read as a humility topos similar to that found in her other texts (especially the prologue to *Scivias*), it is important to note that in her disavowals of technical knowledge of the arts, Hildegard carefully and accurately used their

[53] See Chapter 8 in this volume, "Hildegard as Musical Hagiographer: Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 103 and Her Songs for Saints Disibod and Ursula."

[54] *V. Hild.*, 2.2, p. 24: "Sed et cantum cum melodia in laudem Dei et sanctorum absque doctrina ullius hominis protuli et cantaui cum numquam uel neumam uel cantum aliquem didicissem."

technical language. She never stated that she remained forever ignorant of the rules of grammar or music, but stressed only that her work originated in her visionary experience before she had acquired such knowledge.

Whether the surviving music for *O vos angeli* is a product of Hildegard's early years or her maturity, it clearly undermines her disavowal of notational or theoretical knowledge, since its music reflects deep correspondences with South German music theory that reinforce Hildegard's ideas about angelic music found in her other writings. The most striking correspondence is the extraordinary range (remarkable even for Hildegard) of *O vos angeli*. It employs the full range of the Guidonian gamut, comprising 19 diatonic steps, which was only gradually adopted in her region during the last quarter of the 11th century via the works of Aribo (who refers to William of Hirsau in his works) and the treatise of the otherwise anonymous John.[55] The use of the Guidonian gamut in *O vos angeli* suggests that the musical conception of the song (as notated) is not only highly theoretical, but that the theory behind the composition was also current.

Moreover, in a passage from *Cause et cure* that may be attributed to her with reasonable certainty, Hildegard refers to an instrument often mentioned in chant treatises—the monochord:

> Now, Adam, before his treachery, used to know angelic song and every kind of music, and he used to have a voice sounding like a monochord sounds. But in his treachery, from the cunning of the serpent, a certain wind of his [of the serpent] twisted him in the marrow and the thigh, and this [wind] is indeed now in every man. And from that wind, man's spleen has grown fat, and foolish joy and laughter and even jeers are shaken out of man.[56]

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[55] T. J. H. McCarthy's *Music, Scholasticism and Reform: Salian Germany, 1024–1125* (Manchester, 2009) surveys South German music theory, paying particular attention to the networks of monastic institutions centered on Gorze and Hirsau. Pages 80–93 treat the critical reception of Guido's work, pointing out that John described both ranges for the gamut but used Guido's in his treatise. See also T. J. H. McCarthy "Aribo's De Musica and Abbot William of Hirsau," *Revue Bénédictine* 116 (2006): 62–82, and Gabriela Ilnitchi, *The Play of Meanings: Aribo's "De Musica" and the Hermeneutics of Musical Thought* (Lanham, Md., 2005). Joan Malcolm, "Epistola Johannis Cottonis ad Fulgentium episcopum," *Musica Disciplina* 47 (1993): 159–69, suggests that John may have been cantor at St Maximin in Trier, a city Hildegard visited and was closely connected with through the monastery of Sts Eucharius and Matthias.

[56] English translation by William Flynn. *Cause*, p. 188: "Adam quoque ante preuaricationem angelicum carmen et omne genus musicorum sciebat et uocem habebat sonantem, ut uox monochordi sonat. In preuaricatione autem illius de astutia serpentis intorsit se in medullam et in femur eius quidam uentus, qui etiam nunc in omni homine est. Et de uento illo splen hominis inpinguescit, et inepta laetitia et risus atque cahinni in homine excutiuntur."

Hildegard's claim that Adam's prelapsarian voice was similar to the monochord is significant, since many chant treatises, including those of Aribo and John, begin with instructions for marking its soundboard with the proportional divisions from which one could derive the notes of the gamut. In this way, the monochord served as a useful teaching instrument for the practice of music and for demonstrating, through musical intervals, the theory of the harmonic proportions and order found in both microcosmos and macrocosmos, humanity and creation, and therefore (in Hildegard's words) "every kind of music."[57] By using its entire range in *O vos angeli*, Hildegard signaled the connection between angelic song and the prelapsarian capabilities of Adam's voice.

A similar reference to Adam's voice occurs in the famous letter of 1178, in which Hildegard argues that human skill, by imitating the prophets, had helped recover this prelapsarian, angelic music for her own day. Here she uses the terms *organa* and *iuncturae digitorum*. If one suspects her claim to have no knowledge of music theory, whether as a modesty topos or as a reference to the time when her songs were originally created, the first of these terms appears to refer to organized polyphony (*organa*), and the second to the so-called Guidonian hand in which the *iuncturae digitorum* (the 14 joints and 5 fingertips) serve as a mnemonic representation of the Guidonian gamut:

> Zealous and wise men imitated them, i.e. the holy prophets, and they invented through human art many kinds of *organa*, so that they could sing for the delight of the soul; and what they were singing they fitted to the joints of the fingers (*iuncturae digitorum*), which are inclined to bending, also recalling that, before he failed, Adam, in whose voice was the sound of all harmony and the sweetness of the whole musical art, had been formed by the finger of God, who is the Holy Spirit.[58]

Although the passage can be (and has been) translated so the references to *organa* and *iuncturae* refer to the playing of instruments in imitation of the prophets, such a translation does not do justice to the idea that the wise men of Hildegard's day fitted (*adaptuerunt*) what they were singing

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[57] Idem: "omne genus musicorum."

[58] *Epistolarium*, I, 23, p. 65: "Quos, uidelicet sanctos prophetas, studiosi et sapientes imitati, humana et ipsi arte nonulla organorum genera inuenerunt, ut secundum delectationem anime cantare possent; et que cantabant, in iuncturis digitorum, que flexionibus inclinantur, adaptuerunt, ut et recolentes Adam digito dei, qui Spiritus Sanctus est, formatum, in cuius uoce sonus omnis harmonie et totius musice artis, antequam delinqueret, suauitas erat."

to the joints of the fingers. John's treatise, which helped transmit the Guidonian gamut to South Germany, includes a chapter on improvised polyphony and recommends the use of the hand as a mnemonic replacement for the monochord: "Indeed, one should avidly practice playing upon the joints of one's hand, so that after a while, whenever one wishes, one may become accomplished in using it instead of a monochord, and may test, correct, and compose chant on it."[59]

The range of *O vos angeli* is only the most prominent feature reflecting South German theory. Recent studies of Hildegard's music underscore the ways in which the modal theory developed by Bern of Reichenau and transmitted to the Hirsau network of music theorists by his student, Hermannus Contractus, emphasizes the structural pitches of final, fifth, and octave, and note that Hermannus's own music reflects his theoretical teaching.[60] *O vos angeli* clearly fits into this general context by employing these important pitches to structure its modal space. According to Hermannus's theory, it would be classified as being in *deuterus* mode with its final on E. The E mode is called *deuterus* since its final note is the second note of the "tetrachord of the finals" (D-E-F-G). According to the theory, the authentic range of *deuterus* mode emphasizes not only the final E but also h (the second note of the "tetrachord of the *superiores*") and e (the second note of the "tetrachord of the *excellentes*"). The plagal form of the mode uses B (the second note of the "tetrachord of the *graves*") while cadencing on E or h. Each of the primary consonances (*diatessaron*, perfect fourth; *diapente*, perfect fifth; and *diapason*, the octave) occurs in a series of species that reflects the arrangement of tones and semitones characterizing the mode. In *deuterus* mode, each of these primary intervals, when filled in, must start with the semi-tone above: thus the *diatessera* are B-C-D-E, E-F-G-a, h-c-d-e, and e-f-g-aa; the only regular *diapente* runs from E-F-G-a-h, and the *diapasons* are B-C-D-E-F-G-a-h and E-F-G-a-h-c-d-e. South German theorists tended to characterize the overall range as mirroring the nature of the modes, and explained the octave species that produced authentic and plagal forms as being derived

[59] Johannes Affligemensis (Cotto), *De Musica cum Tonario*, ed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 1 (Rome, 1950), p. 50: "In manus etiam articulis modulari sedulus assuescat, ut ea postmodum quotiens voluerit pro monochordo potiatur et in ea cantum probet, corrigat et componat." The section "De diaphonia, id est organo," pp. 157–63, treats improvised polyphony.

[60] See Bain, "Hildegard, Hermannus, and Late Chant Style," and "Hooked on Ecstasy"; Pfau and Morent, *Klang des Himmels*, pp. 293–309; and David Hiley, "Das Wolfgang-Offizium des Hermannus Contractus—Zum Wechselspiel von Modustheorie und Gesangspraxis in der Mitte des XI. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Offizien des Mittelalters: Dichtung und Musik*, eds. Walter Berschin and David Hiley (Tutzing, 1999), pp. 129–42.

from the larger structure. It seems possible that Hildegard's fairly frequent recourse to large ranges reflects not only her theory of human musical capability before the Fall but also the neo-Platonic context that informed discussions of mode in South German theory.[61]

However, like much of Hildegard's music, *O vos angeli* also contains prominent cadences on the fourth note above the final (a) for the phrases *animas iustorum, et throni, sigillum secretorum Dei*, and *Sit laus uobis*; in Dendermonde all of these cadences are clearly signaled by the use of soft-b (b-flat). This copious use of soft-b distinguishes Hildegard's music from that of some other South German composers, notably Hermannus Contractus. Nevertheless, regional theory did allow for a fifth tetrachord named the *synemmenon* (G-a-b-c) to be used as an alternative for the "tetrachord of the *superiores*" (a-h-c-d). According to the *Musica* of William of Hirsau's protégé, Theoger of Metz (d. 1120), two *synemmena* tetrachords (Gamma-A-B[flat]-C and G-a-b-c) were widely used in South German chant style: "It ought to be known that these two tetrachords, although they are not regular, are nonetheless excessively common in practice."[62] Although Theoger acknowledged a lower *synemmenon* tetrachord, most theorists did not accept soft-B in this octave, and notated sources of Hildegard's music never sign this lower soft-B. However, Hildegard's music frequently cadences with soft-b in the upper octave, so there is good reason to consider the structural use of the upper *synemmenon* tetrachord (G-a-b-c) as a feature of her style.

In *O vos angeli*, the *synemmenon* tetrachord allows the cadences made on the note "a" to carry full *deuterus* quality, since the soft-b allows "a" to be approached from the semi-tone above and the tone below. This also allows the perfect intervals on "a" to be of second species, with *deuterus* quality: the *diatessaron* a-b-c-d, the *diapente* a-b-c-d-e, and even the *diapason* a-b-c-d-e-f-g-aa. The systematic use of the *synemmenon* tetrachord therefore brings all of the perfect intervals that are stressed in *O vos angeli* (the work's *harmonia*) into complete modal agreement (the work's *symphonia*).[63]

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[61] McCarthy's *Music, Scholasticism and Reform*, pp. 147–74, treats South German music theorists' use of neo-Platonic thought. Hildegard's familiarity with the same key sources (e.g. Calcidius and Macrobius) can be traced in the "Index auctorum" of *Diu. operum*, and in Peter Dronke, "Platonic-Christian Allegories in the Homilies of Hildegard of Bingen," in *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought: Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeauneau*, ed. H. J. Westra (Leiden, 1992), pp. 381–96.

[62] "Sciendum tamen, quod haec duo tetrachorda, quamvis non sint regularia, tamen nimium sunt usitata." Theoger of Metz, "De Musica," in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* 2, ed. Martin Gerbert (1784; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), p. 187.

[63] The version in the Riesenkodex is less systematic than in Dendermonde and weakens the cadential structure through its less coherent (and sometimes clearly erroneous)

Example 1 summarizes the structure of *O vos angeli*, indicating all of the cadences that coincide with the verbal syntax (omitting the internal cadential structure of melismas) and supplying the appropriate hexachord syllable to indicate the arrangement of tones and semi-tones that surround the opening and cadential notes of each phrase.

Example 1. Cadential structure of *O vos angeli*
(Dendermonde, fol. 159r–v; Riesenkodex, fol. 468va–b)

Distinction (per cola et commata)	First note	Cadence note
O vos angeli	E mi	E mi
qui custoditis populos,	a la	h mi (R: b fa, but creates tritones)
quorum forma fulget	c fa	h mi
in facie vestra,	a re	E mi
et o vos archangeli	h mi	h mi
qui suscipitis	e mi	e mi
animas iustorum,	e mi	a mi (R: a re)
et vos virtutes,	e la	h mi
potestates,	a re	h mi
principatus,	h mi	e mi
dominationes,	e mi	e mi
et troni,	f fa	a mi (R: a re)
qui estis computati	a mi	E mi
in quintum secretum numerum,	h mi	E mi
et o vos cherubin	h mi	e mi
et seraphin,	a re	e mi
sigillum secretorum Dei:	e mi	A mi (R: a re)
Sit laus vobis,	a mi	a mi (R: a mi, signaled late)
qui loculum antiqui cordis	c sol	e mi
in fonte asspicitis.	a re	E mi (D: omits E, but space left)
Videtis enim	E mi	E mi
interiorem vim Patris,	E mi	h mi
que de corde illius spirat	E mi	h mi
quasi facies.	E mi	E mi
Sit laus vobis,	a mi	a mi
qui loculum antiqui cordis	c sol	e mi
in fonte asspicitis.	a re	E mi

use of soft-b, since only some cadences on "a" carry *deuterus* quality. Indeed, the possible structural use of the *synemmenon* tetrachord in Dendermonde may be a key to assessing the relative status and reliability of each source.

The musical structure of *O vos angeli* clearly echoes contemporary music theory in Hildegard's region, calling into question her disavowals of musical knowledge. However, such a song could also come into being through improvisation. In fact, the rigorous structure of the song provides exactly the same type of fixed points (the cadence notes and the melodic shapes by which cadences are approached) that characterize much musical improvisation. Moreover, regional modal theory was transmitted not only in treatises, but also through songs that could be memorized and practiced as vocal and pedagogical exercises.[64] One of the most widespread of these exercises (shown here in letter notation) teaches the basic principles of South German theory and demonstrates them musically by filling in the perfect consonances of *diatessaron, diapente*, and *diapason*, which are named in its lyrics. While transmitted only in *protus* mode (on D, as in Example 2), one need only sing it in *deuterus* (on E, as in Example 3) to see how such exercises could provide the basic conceptual framework behind Hildegard's *O vos angeli*.

Example 2. Diapente et Diatessaron in *Protus*
(Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 1235, fol. 146v)[65]

a	**G**	**a**	**D**	**aGFED**		**D**	**D**	**C**	**D**	**D**	**DCBA**		**ABCD**		
Di-	a-	pen-	te			et	di-	a-	tes-	sa-	ron				
DED	**CD**	**D**	**D**	**C**	**D**	**E**		**F**	**G**	**F**	**E**	**D**	**C**	**D**	**D**
sim-	pho-	ni-	e,	et	in-	ten-		se	ac	re-	mis-	se	pa-	ri-	ter
D	**C**	**F**	**G**	**a**	**a**	**G**	**a**		**aGFED**	**DCBA**		**DEFGa**		**aD**	
con-	so-	nan-	ci-	a	di-	a-	pa-		son						
D	**C**	**F**	**G**	**a**	**D**	**G**		**F**	**ED**	**CD**	**D**				
mo-	du-	la-	ti-	o-	nem	con-		so-	nam	red-	dunt.[66]				

[64] Charles Atkinson wrote the seminal article demonstrating the ways in which the *ars musica* and *ars cantica* converged: "The Other *Modus*: On the Theory and Practice of Intervals in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West: In Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. Peter Jeffrey (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 233–56.

[65] In this manuscript, the piece ends with the final neuma from the first mode formula "Primum querite" omitted here. The song frequently appears in South German theory compilations; see McCarthy, *Music, Scholasticism and Reform*, pp. 182–215.

[66] "The diapente and diatessaron are concords (*symphoniae*), and rising and falling in equal measure by the consonance of the diapason, they render consonant melody."

Example 3. Diapente et Diatessaron in *Deuterus*

h	**A**	**h**	**E**	**haGFE**	**E**	**E**	**D**	**E**	**E**	**EDCB**	**BCDE**				
Di-	a-	pen-	te		et	di-	a-	tes-	sa-	ron					
EFE	**DE**	**E**	**E**	**D**	**E**	**F**	**G**	**a**	**G**	**F**	**E**	**D**	**E**	**E**	
sim-	pho-	ni-	e,	et	in-	ten-	se	ac	re-	mis-	se	pa-	ri-	ter	
E	**D**	**G**	**a**	**h**	**h**	**a**	**h**	**haGFE**	**EDCB**	**EFGah**	**hE**				
con-	so-	nan-	ci-	a	di-	a-	pa-	son							
E	**D**	**G**	**a**	**h**	**E**	**a**	**G**	**FE**	**DE**	**E**					
mo-	du-	la-	ti-	o-	nem	con-	so-	nam	red-	dunt.					

Whether or not the surviving sources of *O vos angeli* accurately reflect the song Hildegard initially brought forth and sang out of her visionary experience, they clearly echo the music theory of her time and region, and also the neo-Platonic context in which that theory was written and taught. By employing the whole gamut and creating a perfect symphony of the four principal consonances of its mode, the song demonstrates "the sound of all harmony and the sweetness of the whole musical art"—an art through which the singers of her convent, demonstrating the full potential of Adam's prelapsarian voice, might know angelic song.[67]

The Ordo uirtutum: *A Sonic Tree of Jesse*

The *Ordo uirtutum* (*Ordo*), as the text is entitled in the Riesenkodex and in Trithemius's copy, is a fully neumed dramatic work. Most scholars assume it was written to be performed by nuns of Hildegard's community. Although a partial, text-only version graces the finale of *Scivias*, it is not the focus of this article. In the music drama itself, Hildegard draws upon an early and well-established genre, the prophets' play, transforming it into something utterly new, apparently the first morality play. This new genre, like most of her other offerings in the realm of sacred music, was especially well suited to the life of a new community of Benedictine nuns; it would have improved their understanding of the monastic vocation while signifying their importance to the Church and the world. The Virtues appeal to the drama's main character, *Anima*, as if she were a nun, but she also represents an "everysoul" engaged in the cosmic, Christian struggle.

[67] *Epistolarium*, I, 23.

Several theories exist about the origin and role of the music drama in the liturgical life of Hildegard's community. Peter Dronke proposed that it was performed at the Rupertsberg dedication on May 1, 1152.[68] He points out that the drama requires 17 solo parts, a smaller group of lost souls, and one person to play the Devil (a spoken role): a cast well suited to Hildegard's convent, with its 20 nuns of noble birth and the secretary and provost Volmar in residence. Pamela Sheingorn argues that the drama—a celebration of virginity—was composed for the consecration of nuns; she notes textual parallels between it and the consecration ceremony found in the Mainz pontifical.[69] Gunilla Iversen identifies possible autobiographical features present in the drama, with special attention paid to Hildegard's loss of her favorite nun, Richardis von Stade.[70] Stefan Morent suggests that it is naive to think that the *Ordo* was performed only once or that it required Volmar or other men; he believes the music drama was integral to monastic life, relating theologically to Hildegard's cosmology.[71] Fassler underscores the drama's Eucharistic themes and proposes that it was performed regularly, perhaps even once a month, as an exercise to prepare the community for the reception of communion.[72]

In any case, the idea that the *Ordo* was a mere intellectual exercise on Hildegard's part has been roundly rejected, and numerous performances with various types of staging have been offered to enthusiastic audiences. Dronke's envisioning of the drama (1986), for example, has the Virtues on a raised *sedes*, with the Devil at the foot of its steps. In the prologue, the chorus of Prophets and Patriarchs walk up the steps, marveling at the Virtues as they sing. Scholars and performers have noted parallels between these characters and the figures in the illuminated manuscript of *Scivias* from Hildegard's convent; these paintings continue to influence costumes and staging. In her famous letter in response to Tenxwind of Andernach, Hildegard defended her nuns' custom of wearing their hair loosened when processing as brides of Christ, responding to an attack mentioning their

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[68] See, most recently, Dronke, Introduction to *Ordo*, p. 487.

[69] Pamela Sheingorn, "The Virtues of Hildegard's *Ordo Virtutum*; or, It Was a Woman's World," in *The* Ordo Virtutum *of Hildegard of Bingen: Critical Studies*, ed. Audrey Ekdahl Davidson (Kalamazoo, 1992), pp. 43–62.

[70] Gunilla Iversen, "Réaliser une vision: La dernière vision de *Scivias* et le drame Ordo virtutum de Hildegarde de Bingen," *Revue de Musicologie* 86 (2000): 37–63.

[71] Stefan Morent, "*Ordo virtutum*. Vom Spiel der Kräfte," in *Klang des Himmels*, pp. 214–52, esp. 214–18.

[72] Fassler, "Music for the Love Feast," pp. 92–117; and "The Female Voice: Hildegard of Bingen and the Song of Songs," in *Scrolls of Love: Ruth and the Song of Songs*, eds. Peter S. Hawkins and Lesleigh Cushing Stahlberg (New York, 2006), pp. 255–67.

customary jewels and costumes as well.[73] Her powerful dramatic sense animated not only the *Ordo*, but also her treatises, letters, and sermons, as well as the rich liturgical life she apparently developed for her nuns. Her ceremony for the exorcising of a demon is a miniature drama relating to the *Ordo* in a number of ways.[74]

Musical analysis of the drama has often focused on Hildegard's use of modes (or scales) in establishing scenes, characters, and conflict. Audrey Davidson pointed to musical scenes as defined by mode.[75] In an unpublished paper, "Music as Drama: The Musical Language of Hildegard's *Ordo Virtutum*" (1998), Susan Rankin worked more closely with mode and melody type, and her study, generously shared, has influenced the analyses of Stefan Morent and Roswitha Dabke.[76] Morent provides a table identifying the modes speech by speech; clearly, the *Ordo* moves in a type of modal progression, with large blocks of texts set to material in one mode, or in particular modes in alternation, with fluctuation between D and E throughout.[77] Morent also notes the importance of melody types in linking the speeches of various figures and developing plot. It must be added that Hildegard uses music graphically, so that its very motion embodies character and themes, and that she sometimes brings in well-established liturgical melodies to reinforce the action.

The opening of the music drama reveals many of these strategies. Instead of a row of prophets proclaiming Christ's advent, Hildegard's Virtues are a cadre of angelic warrior women fighting for the salvation of souls. The opening scenes witness the passing of the baton from one group of characters and type of drama to new ones. Hildegard begins the *Ordo* in D, and the Patriarchs and Prophets sing in the low (plagal) scale of the two centered on D. The Virtues respond in D but soon leap upward to the higher (authentic) range. There they begin a series of notes that tumble to the lower realm of their Old Testament archetypes, who reply in this low register that they are the roots (*sumus radices*), while the

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[73] *Epistolarium*, I, 52R, pp. 126–30; *Letters*, I, 52R, pp. 128–30.

[74] The ceremony is found in Hildegard's correspondence with Abbot Gedolphus of Brauweiler, edited in *V. Hild.*, pp. 58–63, and translated in *Letters*, I, 68R, pp. 148–51. See also Peter Dronke, "Problemata Hildegardiana," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1981): 97–131, esp. 118–22.

[75] Audrey Ekdahl Davidson, "Music and Performance: Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo Virtutum*," in *The* Ordo Virtutum *of Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. Audrey Ekdahl Davidson, pp. 1–29.

[76] Morent, "*Ordo virtutum*. Vom Spiel der Kräfte"; and Roswitha Dabke, "The Hidden Scheme of the Virtues in Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo Virtutum*," *Parergon* 23 (2006): 11–46.

[77] Morent, "*Ordo virtutum*. Vom Spiel der Kräfte," pp. 241–43.

Virtues are the branches (*uos rami*), the fruit of the Living Eye (*fructus uiuentis oculi*). On their last phrase, the Old Testament figures move upward to their highest pitch "c" on the word "Eye." The Patriarchs and Prophets shift mode, cadencing on E, and explain that they were merely a shadow (*nos umbra*) in the Living Eye, forerunners of what was to come. (See Example 4.)

This modal shift prepares for a speech completely in E mode: a lament of lost souls (Souls Imprisoned in Bodies) longing to regain their prelapsarian splendor. Upon occasion we see their former glory, especially when they praise the Living Sun in D, but they slip back into E again, closing on a cadence of longing and expressing their wish to fight with the King of Kings.

The shift to E mode and the words of longing and sorrow are then broken by a return of *Anima*, who is joyful and bursts forth in D, seemingly unaware of the lost souls. The music is ironic, for *Anima* will soon be joining them, temporarily at least. There is some foreshadowing in her melody, for after the initial phrases, musically related to the Virtues' opening song of joy, *Anima* shifts mode for a while to F, a mode not often used in the drama, featuring the note B-flat. At the end, she shifts to E and calls upon the Virtues, who respond also in E, acknowledging that *Anima* was formed in the "deep height of the wisdom of God" (*in profunda altitudine sapientie Dei*).[78]

To demonstrate *Anima*'s movement from joyful (*felix*) to weighed down (*gravata*), Hildegard again uses music graphically. *Anima*'s initial joyful song plays upon the opening leap of a fifth, characteristic of the authentic D mode and used to great advantage by the Virtues when they sing in D. But when she sings as the "weighed down soul" (*Gravata Anima*), she can no longer rise up the fifth, and the rest of her melody, in contrast with her joyful song, remains in the lower, plagal register. Her song, like her character, is weighed down.[79] (See Example 5.)

Hildegard often engages in "tone painting," but evaluating it requires careful study of context and a deep knowledge of the music. When there is clear graphic use of music, however, as in her settings of the "roots and branches" or the "heavy soul," performers should recognize and play upon it. Morent has taken this idea further in his study of the ways in which the characters use the modes to embody their ideas.

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[78] Peter Dronke, ed. and trans., "*Ordo Virtutum: The Play of the Virtues*, by Hildegard of Bingen," in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, p. 161, l. 21; *Ordo*, p. 506, l. 30.

[79] Morent, "*Ordo virtutum*. Vom Spiel der Kräfte," p. 237.

Example 4. Opening of the *Ordo uirtutum*: Roots and Branches (Riesenkodex, fol. 478vb)

Patriarche et prophete

Qui sunt hi qui ut nu - bes?

Virtutes

O an - ti - qui sanc - ti quid ad - mi - ra - mi - ni in no - bis?

Ver - - bum De - i cla - re - scit

in for-ma ho - mi - nis et i - de - o ful - ge - mus cum il - lo

e - di - fi - can - tes mem - bra su i pul - chri cor - po - ris.

Patriarche et prophete

Nos sum - us ra - di - ces et uos ra - mi fruc - tus ui - uen - tis o - cu - li

et nos um - bra in il - lo fu - i - mus.

Example 5. *Felix Anima* Contrasted with *Gravata Anima* (Riesenkodex, fols 478vb–479ra)

Felix anima

O dul - cis di - ui - ni - tas et o sua - uis ui - ta *etc.*

Gravata anima

O gra - uis la - bor et o du - rum pon - dus *etc.*

One of the most complex aspects of the drama is the organization of the Virtues. As their unfolding creates the structure of the drama, an understanding of Hildegard's plan is of fundamental importance. Dabke offers the most compelling study of their presentation and ordering.[80] She points out that Hildegard worked with schemes of virtues throughout her life, and believes (without making claims about chronology) that the virtues in *Scivias, Liber vite meritorum*, and *Liber diuinorum operum* provide a backdrop for understanding the Virtues in the play.[81] The sixteen Virtues can be organized into two groups of eight through their relationship to Biblical Scripture and the exegetical tradition. The first octad comprises Hildegard's "Gift Virtues": those corresponding to the gifts of the Holy Spirit named in Isaiah 11:1–5, similar to other medieval lists of such virtues.[82] It is deeply significant that Hildegard begins with these virtues, for Isaiah 11 is the source of the Tree of Jesse image, and 12th-century iconography often represented the spiritual gifts from which these virtues derive as doves surrounding Christ's head atop the Tree of Jesse. Hildegard's Gift Virtues arrive as a group in Scene Two,[83] after Knowledge of God (*Scientia Dei*) and Humility (*Humilitas*)[84] have argued with *Anima* in Scene One. By analyzing scriptural exegesis in the drama and in Hildegard's other works, Dabke posits that the second octad of Virtues relates to the Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5:1–12).[85] According to this theory, then, an Old Testament–inspired set of Virtues appears, followed by one based on New Testament exegesis. This argument allows us to relate the *ordo*, or succession, of Virtues to the graphic opening of the play, in which the Old Testament figures proclaim themselves to be the roots of a new-blossoming tree of life that operates on high. *Anima* moves through two "ranks" of virtues and emerges from an older understanding of the Law into the newer realm of Christian ethics. The following table lists the Virtues in the order in which they speak: each identifies herself and receives a group response (modes of the responses are not listed).

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80 Dabke, "Hidden Scheme."
81 Ibid., esp. pp. 13–15, 33–34.
82 Ibid., pp. 15–17.
83 The description of the drama follows Dronke's edition and translation of the *Ordo*, in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*.
84 Humility appears in every one of Dronke's four scenes.
85 Dabke, "Hidden Scheme," pp. 17–22.

Table 1. Virtues in the *Ordo* (After Dabke)
Opening: The Group of Virtues, Knowledge of God (*Scientia Dei*), Humility (*Humilitas*) (Knowledge of God fails to make much headway with *Anima*)

The First Octad: The Gift Virtues*	Mode	Range
Humility (*Humilitas*)	D	A-c
Charity (*Caritas*)	D	A-b
Fear of the Lord (*Timor Dei*)	E	B-c
Obedience (*Obedientia*)	E	C-c
Faith (*Fides*)	E	C-d
Hope (*Spes*)	D	A-d
Chastity (*Castitas*)	E	D-d
Innocence (a subset of Chastity) (*Innocentia*)	E	C-c

* Related to Isaiah 11:1–5.

The Second Octad: The Beatitude Virtues*	Mode	Range
Contempt of the World (*Contemptus mundi*)	E	C-c
Heavenly Love (*Amor celestis*)	D	A-G
The Virtue with the Missing Name**	E	C-c
Shamefacedness (*Verecundia*)	D	A-d
Mercy (*Misericordia*)	C	F-aa
Victory (*Victoria*)	C	G-g
Discretion (*Discretio*)	C	g-f
Patience (*Patientia*)	E	G-e

* Related to Matthew 5:1–12.
** Identified by Dabke as Heavenly Desire.

Through careful study, Dabke offers a new solution for one of the most persistent puzzles regarding the drama: the name of the Virtue unidentified through scribal error in its early copies. Dabke argues for Heavenly Desire, showing how her appearance and significance in *Scivias* reflect the drama, and demonstrating that she evokes the exegetical tradition surrounding Matthew 5:5.[86] Under this scheme, new themes emerge as central to the play; *Anima's* struggle is with her inability to follow the triad of perfection, which Dabke adapts from Eriugena: (1) deification through a moral life; (2) contemplation of Christ; and (3) union with Christ.[87] The Devil tries to persuade *Anima* to embrace the reality of the world, opposing the progression that the Virtues advocate. If the unnamed Virtue is

[86] Dabke, "Hidden Scheme," pp. 24–27.
[87] Ibid., p. 29.

indeed Heavenly Desire, she embodies the reversal from longing for the world to longing for Heaven, and thus is pivotal in *Anima's* process of change. The Devil chafes against reversal: "You were in my embrace, I led you out. Yet now you are going back."[88]

Musically, too, this explanation of the *Ordo* and the identification of Heavenly Desire make sense, adding to Fassler's understanding of the drama as a sonic Tree of Jesse.[89] The musical ranges of the characters take on special importance, as Morent has demonstrated;[90] if the *Ordo* is a tree, the higher the branches, the nearer to the lofty peaks where the Virgin Mary and her Son have their allegorical dwelling. The Virtues' response to Heavenly Desire includes the first high point of the second octad of Virtues. Heavenly Desire appears hand in hand with Contempt of the World (*Contemptus mundi*), who leads the Beatitude Virtues in their representation of salvation to post-Incarnation souls. The table above demonstrates that, in general, the music moves higher as we ascend the tree of Virtues. The highest range belongs to Mercy (*Misericordia*), whose melody, mode, and range foreshadow the play's most triumphant song, that of Victory (*Victoria*), when the Devil is bound and the Virtues celebrate his demise and *Anima's* restoration. Here Victory sings (stretching up to aa), "Rejoice, O friends, for the ancient serpent is bound!"[91] Her melody presents one of Hildegard's most dramatic borrowings: it derives from the famous Marian antiphon *Ave regina caelorum*, thus connecting the Virtues' actions to the Incarnation and the Virgin Mary, who is the Mother of Mercy.[92] The Virtues who bind the Devil are also allied with Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins, whose actions, like those of the Virtues and Mary, are the pearls that choke Satan.[93]

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[88] Dronke, "*Ordo Virtutum*," in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, p. 177, ll. 209–10; *Ordo*, p. 518, ll. 286–87: "Tu amplexata es me, et ego foras eduxi te. Sed nunc in reversione tua confundis me."

[89] See especially Fassler, "Melodious Singing." These issues are investigated in Margot Fassler, "'Who are These Like Clouds?': Hildegard's *Ordo Virtutum* in the Context of *Scivias*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 (2014), forthcoming.

[90] Morent, "*Ordo virtutum*. Vom Spiel der Kräfte," pp. 227–51.

[91] Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, pp. 178–79, l. 227; *Ordo*, p. 519, l. 311: "Gaudete, o socii, quia antiquus serpens / ligatus est!"

[92] Fassler, "Melodious Singing," pp. 171–72.

[93] See the next chapter in this volume, "Hildegard as Musical Hagiographer."

Conclusion

From the *Scivias* songs and *Symphonia* to the *Ordo*, Hildegard's music arose from and contributed to the liturgical life of her monastery. Whether written for her communities on the Disibodenberg and Rupertsberg or for others, such as the monks of Sts Eucharius and Matthias in Trier, Hildegard's songs reflect and inform the monastic cycle of worship. They also derive meaning from and impart it to her other theological and exegetical works, and those of other writers. As our discussions of *(Nam) O vos angeli* and the *Ordo* have shown, Hildegard's songs must be analyzed within this interpretive framework, as they would have been understood by those in her day who received (and presumably performed) her music.

Although Hildegard often claimed to be unlearned in the realm of music, her own compositions suggest otherwise. Our case studies and much recent scholarship have shown that her music reflects contemporary trends in music theory and practice, while at the same time exhibiting a characteristic individuality in both style and form. Her motivic organicism, expansive ranges, and genre bending combine to create a recognizably Hildegardian musical language.

Hildegard wrote her songs and music drama to enrich the contemplative life of monks and nuns who had renounced the world in order to serve God always. She intended her music to bridge their earthly exile: to introduce a bit of heaven on earth, embody the praise of the angels, and place her reader-singers in the company of the celestial symphony. More than that, her songs encouraged greater faithfulness in cultivating celestial virtues and renouncing the devil. As described in the next chapter, "Hildegard as Musical Hagiographer," many of her songs offered musical hagiographies of the saints, pointing the way to eternal life for those set apart to be servants and brides of Christ. In all of these ways, her music reflected the preoccupations of her treatises and correspondence. To sing the liturgy, Hildegard believed, was to unite soul and body in emulation and adoration of Christ. It was to join in the supernal "song of rejoicing, sung in consonance and in concord, [which] tells of the glory and honor of the citizens of Heaven, and lifts on high what the Word has shown."[94] It was, above all, to sing the divine love song, the heavenly symphony.

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[94] *Scivias* (Eng.) 3.13.11, pp. 532–33. *Scivias* 3.13.11, pp. 630–31: "Quapropter et sonus ille ut uox multitudinis in laudibus de supernis gradibus in harmonia symphonizat: quia symphonia in unanimitate et in concordia gloriam et honorem caelestium ciuium ruminat, ita quod et ipsa hoc sursum tollit quod uerbum palam profert."

HILDEGARD AS MUSICAL HAGIOGRAPHER: ENGELBERG, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK MS. 103 AND HER SONGS FOR SAINTS DISIBOD AND URSULA

Tova Leigh-Choate, William T. Flynn, and Margot E. Fassler

Many of Hildegard's musical compositions celebrated saints, from local patrons like Sts Disibod and Eucharius to the Queen of Heaven. Composed for the liturgies of institutions within her milieu, these pieces reveal much about Hildegard's musical style, her monastic heritage, and her understanding of saints in their roles as both intercessors in heaven and models on earth. These liturgical songs complement her theological and hagiographical writings, and their music, like the *Scivias* songs and *Ordo uirtutum*, can be said to illustrate the varieties of music in the heavenly symphony that Hildegard saw and heard in vision.[1] As antiphons, responsories, and hymns for the Divine Office, or hymn-like sequences for Mass, Hildegard's compositions provided edifying songs of praise for local monastic communities.

Hildegard's songs for saints fit into the hierarchical framework provided in the final vision of *Scivias*; they are songs for the Virgin Mary, or for individual prophets, confessors, martyrs, virgins, etc., and they are organized according to this hierarchy in the song collections. They do not, however, comprise a complete liturgical cycle. Instead, Hildegard seems to have composed her songs on an ad hoc basis: by direct commission, as a gift for another community, or to fill a liturgical need within her own convent. In some cases, the impetus for a song is known; in others, one can only surmise based on available evidence. As suggested in previous chapters, some of Hildegard's songs may have originated during her early years as an anchoress and *magistra* on the Disibodenberg. Commemoration of the saints was certainly part of her formative liturgical experience; she was enclosed at the Disibodenberg on All Saints' Day in 1112, and the new abbey church, with its altars dedicated to St Disibod and other saints, was constructed over the next three decades. Hildegard's move with her nuns to the Rupertsberg between 1148 and 1150 ushered in a period of intense

[1] On the music from *Scivias* and *Ordo uirtutum*, see the previous chapter, "Hearing the Heavenly Symphony." The authors wish to thank Jane Flynn for her assistance with this chapter.

creativity, likely due to her newfound freedom, the liturgical demands and organizational challenges of her transplanted community, and her increasing fame. It was during her almost 30 years at the Rupertsberg that Hildegard wrote most of her songs for individual saints.

Music written in honor of local saints is one of the most helpful indicators of the origin and provenance of medieval liturgical manuscripts and can be of great use to historians. While much of the liturgical calendar remained constant from place to place (Christmas, Easter, and the other feasts of the temporal liturgical cycle, for example), each community celebrated its own cycle of saints' days, known as the sanctoral cycle or *sanctorale.* Some of the stories sung in the liturgy were thus local legends or universal tales with a local twist, enabling scholars to use the *sanctorale* of liturgical manuscripts as a means for reconstructing a community's self-proclaimed history and identity. In the case of Hildegard, her songs for saints offer a window onto her activities both within and beyond the walls of her community, as well as her understanding of the monastic life and the life hereafter. A comprehensive liturgical manuscript from the Rupertsberg, incorporating Hildegard's songs into a full liturgical cursus, would be especially useful in assessing how her songs, and all of her works, relate to worship in the convent. Since no such manuscript is known to exist, scholars must search elsewhere for liturgical material (songs, readings, prayers, etc.) with which to compare and contextualize Hildegard's works. For this, they look to her home monastery on the Disibodenberg, and to Mainz, Trier, Cologne, Zwiefalten, and other centers within her sphere.

This chapter first discusses a liturgical manuscript, Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 103 (hereafter, Engelberg 103), which scholars have linked to the Disibodenberg and have begun to use as context in discussing Hildegard's music. We provide an overview of the manuscript, an incomplete breviary; examine its attribution to the Disibodenberg, primarily through analysis of its *sanctorale*; propose an alternative but still regional provenance; and explore its place in Hildegard studies. With Engelberg 103 as a backdrop, we then turn to case studies of Hildegard's music for saints. These case studies cast Hildegard as a musical hagiographer—a creator of character, history, and identity. Like her *Scivias* songs, some of Hildegard's songs for saints survive in a purely textual tradition (her letters, for instance), in addition to extant collections of her notated songs. Consideration of their texts and contexts provides insight into her methods as visionary and composer and her significance to contemporaries. Here we address Hildegard's songs for St Disibod; her sequences, with a focus on *O Ecclesia* for St Ursula; and, finally, her antiphon series for St Ursula, part of her most complete liturgical offering.

Engelberg 103: Window on Hildegard's Liturgical Understanding?

Due primarily to its inclusion of liturgical material for the local saint Disibod, the manuscript Engelberg 103 has been attributed to the Benedictine monastery on the Disibodenberg where Hildegard lived for more than 35 years as an *inclusa* and nun before moving to her own convent on the Rupertsberg.[2] Ephrem Omlin, in a thorough study of the manuscript and its Easter play, was the first to make this identification, even acknowledging that "it would be nice to associate the manuscript with St Hildegard," although he did not believe that it originated in her lifetime.[3] Other scholars of liturgy and music have accepted the Disibodenberg attribution, and Hildegard scholars have begun to do just what Omlin mused, citing the manuscript as evidence of Hildegard's liturgical background.[4] This interest is due to the fact that Engelberg 103 seems to represent most closely the particular liturgical traditions she would have known in her formative years, and thus provides a wealth of comparative material for scholars seeking to understand her liturgical background and her own liturgical and theological works.

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[2] The manuscript (with an inventory and description by William T. Flynn) may be viewed at the Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bke/0103 (accessed 25 August 2013). It is described briefly in P. Benedictus Gottwald, ed. *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Monasterii O.S.B. Engelbergensis in Helvetia* (Freiburg, 1891), p. 120.

[3] "Es wäre schön, die Hs. 103 mit der heiligen Hildegard [d. 1179] in Zusammenhang zu bringen." Ephrem Omlin, "Das ältere Engelberger Osterspiel und der cod. 103 der Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg," in *Corolla heremitana: Neue Beiträge zur Kunst und Geschichte Einsiedelns und der Innerschweiz*, eds. Albert Knoepfli, P. Maximilian Roesle, and Alfred A. Schmid (Olten, 1964), pp. 101–26, at 121.

[4] Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison* (Paris, 1971), p. 120; and Réné-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1975), p. 8, list the Disibodenberg attribution in their descriptions of the manuscript. Hildegard scholars citing the manuscript include Catherine Jeffreys, "'Melodia et Rhetorica': the Devotional-Song Repertory of Hildegard of Bingen" (Diss., University of Melbourne, 2000), p. 74; Constant J. Mews, "Hildegard, the *Speculum Virginum*, and Religious Reform in the Twelfth Century," in *Umfeld*, p. 266; and Marianne Pfau and Stefan Morent, *Hildegard von Bingen: Der Klang des Himmels* (Cologne, 2005), pp. 29, 53, 59–60, 137, 140–41, 305, 307, who in turn cite Felix Heinzer, "Hildegard und ihr liturgisches Umfeld," a paper delivered at the conference "Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld, Internationaler wissenschaftlicher Kongress zum 900jährigen Jubiläum, Bingen," September 18, 1998. Most recently, Eckehard Simon has offered the manuscript as "indirect" evidence of Hildegard's familiarity with liturgical drama, noting that it originated after her death. See his paper "Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) and Her Music Drama *Ordo Virtutum*: A Critical Review of Scholarship and Some New Suggestions," prepared for the XIIIth Triennial Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude du Théâtre Médiéval, Giessen, Germany, July 19–24, 2010, and published online at: http://www.uni-giessen.de/~g91159/dokumente/SITM%20Simon.pdf (accessed 25 August 2013), p. 12.

Engelberg 103 is a composite source for the celebration of the Divine Office, copied primarily in the early 13th century for monastic use. Although the psalter is noticeably absent, the manuscript contains a great deal of Office material; its various sections, however, do not always coordinate, suggesting possible origins in independent, recopied *libelli*. These sections are also often schematic or incomplete, whether through a deliberate effort to record only certain types of items or through simple oversight. The manuscript is thus a witness of a living, changing practice of how to join and standardize the various elements of the liturgy. Table 1 summarizes the manuscript's main sections and its material for St Disibod, titular patron of the Disibodenberg monastery.

Table 1. Contents of Engelberg 103

Folios	Main Divisions	Disibod Material
1r–70v	Lectionary for the *temporale* and limited *sanctorale*	
70v–71r	Table of Gospel readings for 12-lesson feasts of the *sanctorale*	Dysibodi e[piscopi]: *Sint lumbi* Oct. S. Disibodi: *Homo quidam peregre*
71r–72v	Litany and special prayers	Sancte Dysibode (in confessor litany, after four popes and St Martin)
73r–171v	Antiphoner for the *temporale* and *sanctorale* (notated in non-diastematic German neumes, modes indicated by number alongside marginal *differentiae*, short German tonary)	In festo S. Disibodi (fol. 139): neumed, generic antiphon for Vespers psalms, *Egregie confessor Dei*; neumed *incipit*s for responsory *Iuravit Dominus*, hymn *Sancte Dysibode*, and Gospel antiphon *Iustum deduxit*; all else *de confessoribus*
172r–175v	Canticle and hymn texts (incomplete, lacuna follows)	
176v–178r	Calendar (martyrology-like)	
179r–184v	Biblical chapters (*capitula*) for *temporale* and limited *sanctorale*	
184v–197r	Collects for the *temporale* and comprehensive *sanctorale*, other intercessory prayers	Disibodi episcopi (fol. 190v): speaks of his holy preaching as confessor and bishop (and seems to be repeated for octave); two prayers calling him confessor and bishop among special intercessory suffrages (fol. 195v, alongside Martin and Benedict)
197v–200r	Various prayers, *capitula*, and benedictions (in later hand)	

A few elements deserve some discussion here. The lectionary and *capitula* contain proper material only for widely celebrated saints, so Disibod's absence is no surprise. The community could simply use lessons and chapters from the Common of Confessors. Although Disibod's feast and octave are listed in the table of Gospel readings for 12-lesson feasts (fols 70v–71r), the table itself appears incomplete; for example, it includes the octave of the Assumption but not the feast itself. In the antiphoner, Disibod is one of a few local saints to receive any music (fol. 139),[5] yet most of his office is drawn from the *commune sanctorum*.[6] Unlike some saints (e.g. Martin and John the Baptist), Disibod does not merit a procession at vespers, nor is his octave listed in the antiphoner.

The calendar reads much like a martyrology, commemorating a wide range of saints and at least one feast daily. Like the rest of the manuscript, the calendar does not identify any church or altar dedications that might help to localize it. St Disibod is also missing, despite the presence of many local German saints, including Bodard, Bilihild, Goar, Alban, and Wigbert. Disibod's feast and octave reappear in the rather comprehensive collectar (fol. 190v), where the prayer to him—that his preaching lead the supplicants from carnal to celestial desires—suggests a community within his legendary sphere of influence. Disibod is also one of three confessors to merit extra prayers at the end of the collectar (fol. 195v); Martin receives three, while Disibod and Benedict each receive two. This subsection also contains prayers for the Holy Cross, Mary, the Angels, and Sts John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, and Stephen (all major feasts or saints), suggesting that Disibod was an important patron of the community that used the manuscript.

Several features, however, undermine an attribution to the Disibodenberg. Disibod's absence from the calendar would, of course, be a telltale sign, except that codicological evidence suggests that the calendar was added to the manuscript separately. More significantly, Disibod's translation, celebrated at the Disibodenberg alongside the Nativity of Mary on September 8, appears nowhere. This contrasts with a 12th-century martyrology from the monastery, which lists all of the feasts for Disibod and

[5] These include St Afra, St Alban, and St Gall.

[6] The fully notated antiphon *Egregie confessor Dei* does not appear in the manuscript's Common of Saints and thus might be "proper," or unique to Disibod's liturgy; its generic text resembles "common" confessor chants, however, and lacks his name. Also not in the Common, the hymn *Sancte Dysibode* nevertheless uses a recycled melody, found, for example, on the same folio (fol. 139r) for the translation and ordination of St Martin.

calls him not only "bishop and confessor" but "our holy father."[7] Other factors include the lack of a procession on Disibod's feast and the absence of music and lessons that reflect his story, even after Hildegard supplied her chant texts and *vita*.

The contents of the manuscript suggest that Sts Mary and Martin were the primary patrons of the monastic church, and that Sts John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Stephen, Benedict, and Disibod remained secondary patrons. St Martin receives special attention throughout the manuscript: his primary feast, octave, and translation and ordination are all well represented. The antiphoner, for example, calls for a procession at vespers on the eve of his feast and provides a full series of 12 neumed Gospel antiphons for use within his octave. The rare antiphon for the vespers psalms, *Ad te clamantes*, hails St Martin as patron (*sancte martine patrone*).[8] The litany directs that the invocations to Sts Martin and Benedict be chanted twice; the Virgin Mary receives three distinct invocations. A petition *pro loco*, following the litany, requests aid through Mary's merits and the intercession of Sts Martin, John, Peter and Paul, and all saints whose relics are in the church (fol. 72v). At the end of the collectar, after being highlighted with three and four extra prayers, respectively, Sts Martin and Mary are further singled out by a series of versicles and prayers in their honor as special intercessors "for any need."[9]

St Martin, of course, was patron of the cathedral of the archdiocese of Mainz, within whose boundaries the Disibodenberg and Hildegard's Rupertsberg convent were situated. A provenance in this region is suggested not only by the emphasis on St Martin, but also by the other local and regional saints listed in the table of high-ranking, 12-lesson feasts (Alban, Justinus, Boniface, Aureus and Justina, and, of course, Disibod) and in its litany (all of the above, plus Lullus, Ferrutius, Rupert, Wigbert, Maximin of Trier, and Kilian). The petitions for Sts Disibod, Rupert, and Maximin suggest more specifically the territories of the Rheinland-Pfalz, to the west of Mainz.

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[7] Bern, Bürgerbibliothek 226, fols. 21v (the primary feast: *sanctus pater noster Dysibodus Scottorum*), 31r (the translation: *sanctus Dysibodus episcopus et confessor*), and 34r (the dedication of the church: *dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Dysibodi*).

[8] Engelberg 103, fol. 151r. The online CANTUS database lists the same *incipit* for the octave of St Lambert in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 30, a 14th-century antiphoner from Sankt-Lambrecht in Steiermark, Austria (http://cantusdatabase.org/id/200106, accessed 25 August 2013).

[9] Engelberg 103, fol. 196r, *quando dicuntur pro aliqua necessitate*.

Of the regional monasteries that might have fostered the cult of St Disibod as deliberately as in Engelberg 103, the abbey in Sponheim, situated across the Nahe River from the Disibodenberg, stands out. Its church was dedicated to Sts Martin and Mary; its founding as a Benedictine monastery in 1124 was supported by donations made before the altar of St Martin in the preexisting church of Sponheim. The donors included Count Meinhard and his wife, Mechthild, of Sponheim, brother and sister-in-law of Jutta, Hildegard's *magistra* on the Disibodenberg. Abbot Adelhun of the Disibodenberg witnessed the occasion.[10] Fewer than 20 kilometers separated the two abbeys, and both were staffed by monks from the larger monasteries of Mainz and were influenced by the Hirsau reforms.[11] The abbot and the entire community of Sponheim attended the opening of the ancient sepulcher of St Disibod on April 1, 1138.[12]

Whether from Sponheim or not, the liturgy preserved in Engelberg 103 certainly reflects the surrounding area and may be viewed as representative of the liturgies celebrated in regional Benedictine monasteries at the end of the 12th century. As such, the manuscript indeed offers a context for understanding Hildegard's liturgical thought and works. This context, however, must be applied with caution and caveat, for the geographical and temporal correspondence is not exact.

Singing St Disibod, Confessor—and Apostle?

St Disibod found a place not only in Engelberg 103 (and the liturgy it represents) but also in Hildegard's own works. Indeed, the sibyl of the Rhine composed five songs and a *vita* in honor of her early patron. Her only other *vita* was for St Rupert, another saint local to the Mainz-Bingen region and patron of her own convent, for whom she composed four

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[10] *Mainzer Urkundenbuch*, ed. Manfred Stimming, vol. 1 (1932; repr., Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 427–28.

[11] On Hirsau-influenced monasticism in and around Mainz, see Franz Staab, "Reform und Reformgruppen im Erzbistum Mainz. Vom 'Libellus de Willigisi consuetudinibus' zur 'Vita domnae Juttae inclusae,'" in *Reformidee und Reformpolitik im spätsalisch-frühstaufischen Reich: Vorträge zur Tagung der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte vom 11. bis 13. September 1991 in Trier*, eds. Stefan Weinfurtner and Hubertus Seibert (Mainz, 1992), pp. 119–87, esp. 147–66. Felix Heinzer identified Engelberg 103 as a manuscript reflecting Hirsau liturgical traditions (evident in the Rheinau ordinary) in "Der Hirsauer Liber Ordinarius," *Revue Bénédictine* 102 (1992): 309–47, esp. 343–44 (where Engelberg 103 is Hesbert's manuscript 674). See Constant J. Mews's essay in this volume, pp. 57–83.

[12] Anna Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources*, Brepols Medieval Women Series 1 (University Park, Pa., 1998), p. 25.

songs.[13] Like the *Scivias* songs, the earliest Disibod and Rupert songs exist in textual traditions separate from their notated settings in Dendermonde and the Riesenkodex.[14] Three of the Rupert lyrics follow the Life of Saint Rupert and introduce the so-called miscellany of texts in the Riesenkodex (fols 404r–407v) and in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 963 (fols 154v–159v).[15] These lyrics appear to form an epilogue to the saint's *vita*, to which they are joined by the introduction, "And that blessed Rupert is truly blessed and truly holy, these things I heard and learned in the celestial harmony."[16] Like the lyrics in the final vision of *Scivias*, the Rupert lyrics follow one another almost seamlessly, separated only by simple conjunctions and with no indications of liturgical genre. In the notated collections, these texts appear as the sequence *O Ierusalem* and the antiphons *O felix apparitio* and *O beate Ruperte*. The Disibod lyrics are found in copies of Hildegard's letter of reply to Abbot Kuno's request for "any revelation God has granted you concerning our patron, the blessed Disibod."[17] In this epistolary context, they are likewise presented as visionary texts without liturgical assignment or form, joined by simple conjunctions.[18] These purely textual sources highlight the multiple manifestations and roles of Hildegard's songs within her oeuvre. They also underscore the fundamental nature of liturgical song as hagiography and history.

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[13] See the recent edition and translation, *Two Hagiographies*. A critical edition of these two *vitae* will be in a forthcoming volume from Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis (Turnhout).

[14] Dendermonde, St.-Pieters-&-Paulusabdij, Ms. Cod. 9; Riesenkodex, Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 2.

[15] On the miscellany and its sources, see *Opera minora*, pp. 345–52. On the relationship between the Rupert songs, the Rupert *vita*, and the miscellany, see also *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 20–22.

[16] Riesenkodex, fol. 404rb: "Et quia beatus Robertus uere beatus & uere sanctus est, hec in celesti armonia audiui & didici."

[17] Kuno's letter and Hildegard's reply can be found in *Epistolarium*, I, 74 and 74R, pp. 160–62, at p. 160, ll. 10–11: "peto ut, si qua de patrono nostro beato Disibodo Deus uobis reuelauerit, mihi aperiatis." For an English translation, see 74 and 74R in *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 158–62.

[18] E.g. Riesenkodex, fol. 347. In this light, Van Acker's edition and Baird and Ehrman's translation of Hildegard's letter (see fn. 17) could be misleading, for they present the lyrics in the liturgical forms found in the notated collections and not as plain text. Van Acker lists only the *incipit*s to the song texts and refers the reader to Barbara Newman, ed. and trans., *Saint Hildegard of Bingen: Symphonia: A Critical Edition of the "Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum"* (Symphony of the harmony of celestial revelations) (Ithaca, 1988) [2nd ed., *Symph.* (Eng.)], for the full texts. This is especially problematic for *O viriditas digiti Dei*, which does not, in the letter, have the responsorial format found in the notated song collections and thus neither in Newman's edition (see Example 1).

Like all hagiographers, Hildegard celebrated the saints not only for their individual acts and significance but also according to their broader roles as apostles, confessors, virgins, and the like. Her rich imagery combines biblical language and natural metaphors—steep mountain heights, dazzling white lilies, the branching tree, and, her favorite, the verdure or life-giving power (*viriditas*) of God—to illustrate and elucidate the different classes of saints.[19] Indeed, Hildegard's earliest songs seem to be those for the various categories of saints found in the final vision of *Scivias*, such as *O vos imitatores* for confessors and *O cohors militiae floris* for apostles. In the later notated manuscripts, her songs are organized according to these categories (not by a calendrical ordering of feasts), with her songs for specific saints within each category joined to her generic songs for that group. The groups are ranked according to the hierarchy of sanctity found also in the litany: first, God and the Trinity, and then the Virgin Mary, Angels, Prophets and Patriarchs, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and Widows.

Sts Disibod and Rupert were, of course, confessors. Engelberg 103 offers a glimpse of how they may have been commemorated in regional monasteries in Hildegard's day. In Engelberg 103, both saints appear in the litany of confessors; only Disibod, however, receives specific material elsewhere. Even then, his liturgy on July 8 draws heavily from the Common of Confessors. None of the four identified chants is unique to his story; the only fully notated antiphon has a generic text appropriate for all confessors: "Famous confessor of God, intercede diligently for us your servants before your Lord."[20] If this is representative of what was sung at the Disibodenberg in the 1150s, no wonder Abbot Kuno commissioned Hildegard to contribute a "revelation" about St Disibod!

Hildegard's Disibod songs commemorate the saint in his role as hermit, preacher, and monastic founder and patron. In her reply to Abbot Kuno, the song texts read like one long train of praise for the hidden figure (*absconsa forma*) who towers both on the mountaintop of his vineyard—the monastery on the Disibodenberg—and in the true city above, the celestial Jerusalem. The initial verses, identified in the song collections

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[19] Hildegard's poetic treatment of the saints is discussed by Peter Walter, "Die Heiligen in der Dichtung der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen," in *Hildegard von Bingen, 1179–1979: Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen*, ed. Anton Brück (Mainz, 1979), pp. 211–37.

[20] Engelberg 103, fol. 139r: *Egregie confessor Dei pro nobis famulis tuis coram Domino tuo sedulus intercede*.

as the antiphon *O mirum admirandum*, set forth in an abstract manner the pervasive dichotomies of hiddenness, humility, and exile, and height, honor, and liturgical community. The succeeding verses, and the corresponding responsory *O viriditas digiti Dei*, allude to Disibod's establishment of a religious community (*plantatio*), an appropriate subject for matins, when the responsory would have accompanied the day's narrative lessons. These readings were likely selected from the *commune sanctorum* until Hildegard's *vita* of the saint became available. The final verses of song text, and the corresponding sequence *O presul vere civitatis* for Mass, highlight the exile of the saint and his servants, those singing his praises. Their self-reflective exegesis of Disibod's role in the celestial city and the performance of the liturgy in his church on earth echo Hildegard's other sequences, including that for St Rupert, *O Ierusalem*.

If Hildegard's songs for Disibod prioritize his identity as a confessor, their placement in the earliest notated collection obscures this categorization. In Dendermonde, Hildegard's three songs for the saint appear not with those for St Rupert and confessors, but with those for St John the Evangelist and apostles (fols 162r–63r). Scholars have puzzled over this unconventional placement, generally positing that Hildegard simply wanted to give special emphasis to a local saint who had, after all, evangelized the Rhineland as an exiled Irish bishop—an apostolic man (*apostolicus vir*).[21] Even while suggesting this, van Poucke offers "no valid explanation" and "no reason" for the disparity between the Disibod and Rupert songs in this source, believed to have been compiled for the monks of Villers under Hildegard's own direction.[22]

Perhaps a closer look at Hildegard's Disibod songs, specifically the responsory *O viriditas digiti Dei*, will shed further light on the issue. Example 1 outlines *O viriditas* as visionary text (as in her letter) and as notated liturgical song (according to the Dendermonde and Riesenkodex manuscripts).

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[21] E.g. *Symph.* (Eng.), p. 58, and Peter van Poucke, ed., *Hildegard of Bingen: Symphonia harmoniae caelestium revelationum: Dendermonde, St.-Pieters & Paulusabdij, Ms. Cod. 9* (Peer, 1991), p. 7.

[22] van Poucke, ed., *Symphonia: Dendermonde*, p. 7.

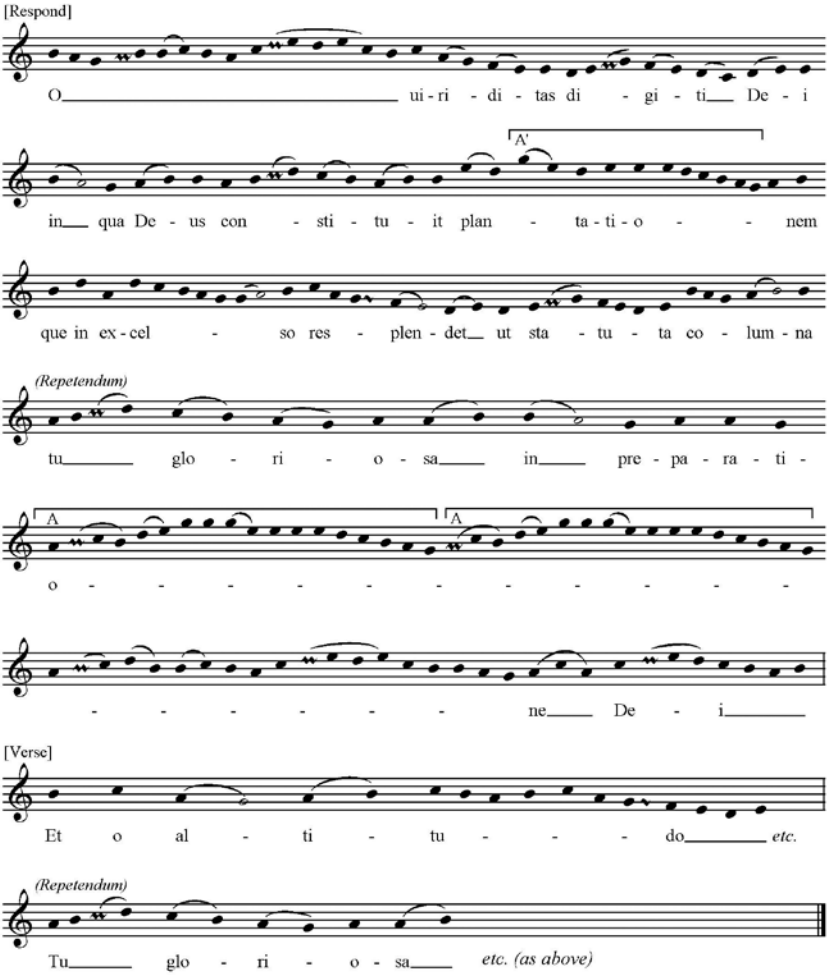
Example 1. *O viriditas digiti Dei* in Hildegard's Letter and Her Song Collections

Hildegard's letter 74r	Dendermonde	Riesenkodex
(from Riesenkodex fol. 347ra)	(fol. 162r–v)	(fol. 470va–b)
Et o uiriditas digiti dei in qua deus constituit plantationem que in excelso resplenduit ut statuta columpna; tu gloriosa es in preparatione dei. Et o altitudo montis que numquam dissipaberis in discretione dei; tu tamen stas a longe ut exul, sed non est in potestate armati qui te rapiat.	R[esponsorium]. O uiriditas digiti dei in qua deus constituit plantationem que in excelso resplendet ut statuta columna tu gloriosa in preparatione dei. v[ersus] Et o altitudo montis que numquam dissipaberis in differentia dei tu tamen stas a longe ut exul sed non est in potestate armati qui te rapiat. [Repetendum] Tu gloriosa [in preparatione dei].	R[esponsorium]. O uiriditas digiti dei in qua deus constituit plantationem que in excelso resplendet ut statuta columna tu gloriosa in preparatione dei. v[ersus] Et o altitudo montis que numquam dissipaberis in differentia dei tu tamen stas a longe ut exul sed non est in potestate armati qui te rapiat. [Repetendum] Tu gloriosa [in preparatione dei]. [Doxology] Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto. [Repetendum] Tu gloriosa [in preparatione dei].

The text for Abbot Kuno does not reflect the liturgical form of a responsory, which consists of a (typically choral) respond, followed by a (solo) verse and a shortened respond called the *repetendum*. The most prominent responsories might end with the doxology and another iteration of the *repetendum*, as outlined in the Riesenkodex.

In this responsory, Hildegard portrays Disibod as a monastic founder through whom God planted a vineyard, or community (*in qua Deus constituit plantationem*), and as an exile (*stas a longe ut exul*). As both man (St Disibod) and place (Mount St Disibod), Disibod reflects the verdure (*viriditas*) of God, as well as the mountain's height (*altitudo montis*), which will never be leveled or ensnared by the enemy. Disibod and his mountain monastery will survive the humbling wrath of God in the latter days and the snares of the armed man (*armatus*), or devil.

Example 2. Responsory *O viriditas digiti Dei* from Dendermonde, fol. 162r–v.



Set in mode three (E *deuterus*), with a range from C to g, the unconventional responsory neither begins nor ends on E but instead on the fifth, h (or b). Many medial phrases, too, begin and/or end on the note h (b), giving the chant a pervasively unsettled character. Perhaps Hildegard intended this to illustrate Disibod's (and the worshipers') earthly exile from God and the continuing work of preparation, or waiting, for the Lord.

It is the saint's preparatory work that is celebrated in the *repetendum*: *Tu gloriosa in preparatione Dei*.[23] Hildegard set the *repetendum* as a joyous melody with an extensive melisma of over 50 notes on the penultimate syllable "o" of *preparatione*. Three times as long as the chant's opening melisma, the *preparatione* melisma emphasizes the chant's highest note (g) through repetition of the note itself and the melisma's entire opening arc (the rise to g and subsequent descent to G, bracketed in Example 2 as A). This internal repetition not only highlights the word *preparatione* but also echoes the earlier word *plantationem*, whose penultimate syllable "o" descended in a like manner from e to G, after peaking on g (indicated in Example 2 as A'). As the *repetendum* would have been chanted at least twice, its repetitive *preparatione* melisma would have been the most memorable part of the performance. Hildegard clearly wanted to emphasize the preparatory work of St Disibod.

Like every good confessor, Disibod would have prepared for the Lord's coming with "loins girt and lamps burning" (Lk. 12:35–6).[24] These verses from Luke may have opened the Gospel reading for Disibod's feast at the Disibodenberg and Rupertsberg (as indicated in Engelberg 103, fol. 71r), and related chants were likely sung as well (as in the Common of Confessors in Engelberg 103, fol. 162r).[25] But Hildegard's line also brings to mind the preparatory themes in Isaiah 40:3 ("prepare ye the way of the Lord") and in Ephesians 6:15 ("and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace").[26] Like the wilderness prophet and precursor of Christ, John the Baptist, and like the Christian who has "put on the armor of God," Disibod strengthened himself and his followers to stand firm—like

[23] "You [are] glorious in the preparation of God." In its epistolary context, the text includes the "are" (*es*), while in its notated context as liturgical chant, it does not.

[24] Biblia Sacra Vulgata: "sint lumbi vestri praecincti et lucernae ardentes et vos similes hominibus expectantibus dominum suum quando revertatur a nuptiis ut cum venerit et pulsaverit confestim aperiant ei beati servi illi quos cum venerit dominus invenerit vigilantes." Douay-Rheims translation, *The Holy Bible* (American Edition, 1899): "Let your loins be girt, and lamps burning in your hands. And you yourselves like to men who wait for their lord, when he shall return from the wedding; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open to him immediately."

[25] E.g., the canticle antiphon: "Beatus ille seruus cum uenerit dominus eius et pulsauerit ianuam et inuenerit eum uigilantem." And the responsory for major feasts: "Sint lumbi uestri precincti et lucerne ardentes in manibus uestris et uos similes hominibus expectantibus dominum suum quando reuertatur a nuptiis. (Verse) Uigilate ergo quia nescitis qua hora dominus uester uenturus sit."

[26] Is. 40:3, "parate viam Domini"; Eph. 6:15, "et calciati pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis," Vulgate.

the mountaintop that will not be leveled—against the wiles of the devil. These references suggest evangelical activity, the preparation of others to receive God. In this, they reflect Disibod's legendary status not only as a righteous, mountain-dwelling hermit, but as one of the region's apostles.

The melodic parallels between the settings of *plantationem* and *preparatione* suggest that Hildegard viewed Disibod's founding of a monastic community, represented by the image of the vineyard, as integral to his preparatory work. Moreover, she calls this *plantatio* (and presumably the saint for whom it was named) a "pillar that glistens on high," perhaps reflecting the common symbolism of the apostles as pillars of the Church: in Hildegard's words, "a mighty row of pillars supporting the Lamb's bride."[27] Her responsory thus bolsters the idea that the placement of the Disibod songs among those for the apostles had to do with the saint's local apostolic work in establishing his religious community, but it also suggests a link to the biblical apostles.

A closer look at Hildegard's other works and a consideration of the chronology of their composition and compilation may add to our understanding. In *Scivias* 2.5, Hildegard relates the Church's apostolic teaching to the work of local bishops:

> Thus you see that a splendor white as snow and translucent as crystal shines around the image of that woman [Ecclesia] from the top of her head to her throat. . . .
>
> The apostolic teaching shone around the head of the Church when the apostles first began to build her up by their preaching; moving through different places, they collected workers who would strengthen her in the Catholic faith and make themselves into priests and bishops and all the ecclesiastical orders, to establish faithfully the rights of men and women who married and all other such institutions. . . . Hence also the apostles chose those orders with which, by heavenly inspiration, they adorned the Church. What does this mean?
>
> That their followers, who took their places, [i.e. the priests and bishops] faithfully traverse streets and farms and cities and other places, regions and lands, carrying the health-giving chrisms and announcing the divine law to the people.[28]

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[27] Compare "in excelso resplendat / ut statuta columna" with "fortissimumque genus columnarum, / sponsam Agni sustentans" in Hildegard's responsory *O lucidissima apostolorum turba*, *Symph.*, 34, p. 420; *Symph.* (Eng.), 34, pp. 164–65, ll. 11–12. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of Hildegard's songs are from *Symph.* (Eng.).

[28] *Scivias* (Eng.), pp. 202–3; *Scivias* 2.5, p. 177: "Unde etiam uides quod praefatam muliebrem imaginem quidam splendor albus ut nix et tamquam crystallus perlucidus a uertice usque ad guttur eius circumfulget. . . .

In her *vita* of St Disibod, Hildegard portrayed the saint as an exiled bishop who spread the gospel of salvation in multiple regions and lands, from his native Ireland to the German Rhineland, where he established his hermitage and performed miracles worthy of the first apostles. According to her vision of the Church, then, Disibod was a follower of the apostles who, like them, contributed to the crystalline shine around Ecclesia's head.

That Hildegard saw Disibod in this light is supported by her use of the image of crystal in her antiphon for another local missionary saint, St Boniface, the "Apostle of Germany" and the first archbishop of Mainz. Hildegard praised Boniface as "a crystal gleaming with goodwill along the righteous paths where [he] wisely ran."[29] Boniface and Disibod were sometimes linked as regional missionaries in local religious lore. Hildegard herself identified Boniface as the one who presided at the elevation and translation of Disibod's bones from his simple oratorio to the first monastery church.[30]

Hildegard wrote her Life of St Disibod at Abbot Helenger's request in 1170, many years after her first songs for the saint (completed before Abbot Kuno's death in 1155). The more explicit *vita*, then, may have been fresh in her mind during the production of Dendermonde in the early 1170s. Perhaps it was due in part to her recent, detailed portrayal of St Disibod as a traveling bishop and miracle-working "follower of the apostles" that Hildegard included him with the apostles in Dendermonde. Perhaps, too, in thinking more recently about the cult of St Disibod, his relics, and the monastery church on the Disibodenberg (all addressed in Disibod's *vita*, and for whose community she originally wrote it and the songs), Hildegard may have had in mind the main altar of the church, dedicated in 1143 not only to Christ and Mary but also to "the blessed evangelist John, and our

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Apostolica doctrina circumfulsit ecclesiam in capite, cum apostoli primum illam sua praedicatione coeperunt aedificare, scilicet cum per diuersa loca discurrentes colligerent operarios qui illam in catholica fide roborarent, et qui ipsi presbyteros et episcopos ac omnem ecclesiasticum ordinem prouiderent, atque iura uirorum ac feminarum qui sub coniugio sunt, et cetera talia fideliter constituerent. . . . [U]nde etiam apostoli ordines illos eligebant, cum quibus ecclesiam superna inspiratione exornabant. Quid est hoc?

Nam sequaces eorum in uice ipsorum saluberrima pigmenta gestantes fideliter plateas et uillas et ciuitates atque alia loca regionum et terrarum pertranseunt, et populo diuinam legem annuntiant."

[29] *Symph.* (Eng.), 51, pp. 204–05; *Symph.*, 51, p. 443: "et cristallus lucens / in benivolentia / rectarum viarum, / in quibus sapienter / cucurristi." The antiphon is found only in the Riesenkodex, fol. 475r–v.

[30] PL 197: 1110–16; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 86–157, esp. 144–45.

most blessed father Disibod, confessor and high priest."[31] Hildegard's placing Disibod's songs next to those of John the Evangelist in Dendermonde may have been a nod to her former monastery church, within whose radius she had written *Scivias*, with its elaborate vision of the Church. As proposed in "Hearing the Heavenly Symphony," it seems plausible that the long years of construction and dedications on the Disibodenberg would have influenced the contents and sequence of Hildegard's compositions.

In the Riesenkodex, compiled in large part during the final years of Hildegard's life, the Disibod songs appear, more conventionally, with those for St Rupert and other confessors.[32] In addition to the lyrics Hildegard sent Abbot Kuno, the Riesenkodex includes the responsory *O felix anima*, celebrating Disibod as a pilgrim who mirrors divinity, and the psalm antiphon *O beata infantia*, which commemorates his extraordinary (yet for saints not atypical) childhood. Both are rather generic praises, apt for almost any confessor, and their inclusion may have influenced the repositioning of Disibod's songs to the confessor section, next to those for Rupert (including the similarly themed antiphon *Quia felix puericia*). In moving the songs, however, Hildegard or her followers obscured the link between Disibod and the apostles—a link which both reflected and highlighted the "preparation" theme of her responsory and her vision of the Church as put forth in *Scivias*.

O Ecclesia: *Hildegard's Sequences and the Cult of St Ursula*

Hildegard's vision of the Church also serves as a foundation for understanding her songs for St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins. The virgins' cult had been developing in the Rhineland for centuries by the time an ancient graveyard was found in Cologne in 1106. The discovery was linked to their cult, and their legend was modified when the remains of men and children were discovered in the tombs. Elisabeth of Schönau offered new explanations through a set of visions, recorded from 1156 to 1157, in which historical

[31] Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, p. 26; *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, ed. Georg Waitz, in MGH SS 17 (Hannover: 1861; repr. Stuttgart, 1963), p. 26: "Hoc anno, indictione 6, dedicatum est novum monasterium in monte sancti Dysibodi et principale altare a domino Henrico Moguntino archiepiscopo, in honorem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et gloriosae genitricis eius Mariae, et beati Iohannis ewangelistae, ac beatissimi patris nostri Dysibodi confessoris atque pontificis."

[32] Riesenkodex, fols 470va–471ra, 475va–b.

Table 2. Hildegard's sequences

Song number[33]	Incipit	Feast(s) or Subject(s)
20	*O virga ac diadema*	Blessed Virgin Mary
28	*O ignis spiritus paracliti*	Pentecost
45	*O presul vere civitatis*	Disibod
49	*O Ierusalem*	Rupert (and Dedication?)
50	*Mathias sanctus*	Mathias
53	*O Euchari in leta vita*	Eucharius
54	*Columba aspexit*	Maximin
64	*O Ecclesia*	Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins

figures converse with her about events and people in Cologne during the time of the martyrdom.[34] Hildegard and Elisabeth corresponded, and their letters offer mutual condolences for the difficulties of having visions and feeling the need to express them to others.[35] Like Elisabeth, Hildegard was an apologist for new understandings of Ursula's cult; her sequence, discussed here, portrays the virgin-martyr as a model of the Church, joined to Christ in the blood of sacrifice, and her antiphons, discussed below, introduce the monks and other men who joined the virgins' band as protectors.

Hildegard wrote eight sequences, which are through-composed, strophic chants designed to be sung before the intoning of the Gospel in the Mass liturgy.[36] (See Table 2.) Indeed, the sequence is the only category of Mass chant for which she composed multiple pieces. Hildegard may have composed the sequences for the Virgin, Ursula, and Rupert for her own community on the Rupertsberg. The sequence *O Ierusalem*, for Rupert, may have been written for the dedication of the new church on May 1, 1151/1152,

[33] According to Newman, ed. *Symph.*; ed. and trans. *Symph.* (Eng.)

[34] For Elisabeth of Schönau's Ursula visions, see "Liber revelationum Elisabeth de sacro exercitu virginum Coloniensium," in *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth und die Schriften der Aebte Ekbert und Emecho von Schönau*, ed. F. W. E. Roth (Brünn, 1884), pp. 123–38, and the English translation by Anne L. Clark, "The Book of Revelations about the Sacred Company of the Virgins of Cologne," in *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works* (New York, 2000), pp. 213–33.

[35] See Felix Heinzer's essay in this volume, "Unequal Twins: Visionary Attitude and Monastic Culture in Elisabeth of Schönau and Hildegard of Bingen," pp. 85–108, on the differences between Elisabeth's and Hildegard's visions.

[36] Hildegard's sequences are treated as a group in Pfau and Morent, *Klang des Himmels*, pp. 202–13. A number of studies of individual works exist, including that of *O Ierusalem* by Michael Klaper in the introduction to the Riesenkodex facsimile, Hildegard von Bingen, *Lieder: Faksimile: Riesencodex (Hs. 2) der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden, fol. 466–48rv*, ed. Lorenz Welker and Michael Klaper (Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 9–10, 29–30.

and would likely have been sung again on Rupert's feast day of May 15, two weeks (or, in liturgical terms, a double octave) later. In the notated collections, it is grouped with the office chants honoring St Rupert. An extra half strophe of *O Ierusalem* is found in the version of the text in the so-called miscellany: "While they [Hildegard's community] were planted in another vineyard [at the Disibodenberg], the Holy Spirit brought them there [to the Rupertsberg] and nobly united them to you in his mystery."[37]

Although included in her letter to Abbot Kuno, Hildegard's *O presul vere civitatis* for St Disibod may have been written during her time at the Disibodenberg, perhaps in conjunction with its dedication in 1143, or at the Rupertsberg, where there may have been relics of the saint. The sequences for Mathias, Eucharius, and Maximin may have been composed with the monks of Sts Eucharius and Matthias in Trier in mind. The singing of sequences in honor of local saints would deepen the meanings of their cults, strengthen relationships between Hildegard's own community and others, and increase the likelihood that her music would be adopted for local liturgies. Her sequence for the Holy Spirit, most likely sung on Pentecost or during its octave, is the only one not dedicated to a saint. The idea that the Holy Spirit had descended on the Rupertsberg would charge a piece written in its honor with special meaning, especially since Pentecost would often have been celebrated around the same time as the dedication of the monastery church and the feast of St Rupert. In 1152, for example, the feast of St Rupert coincided with the feast of the Ascension, which must have made for mystical associations. In subsequent years, the patronal feast often fell during the days leading up to Ascension and Pentecost, and in 1155 and 1160 it would have fallen on Pentecost itself.

Regardless of the particular liturgical occasion or community Hildegard was thinking of as she created her sequences (and there is no way to be certain), the group coheres in the themes developed in the texts and in the ways in which Hildegard explored the genre formally. The sequence occupied a place in the Mass liturgy when the voice of the entire community, and not just the choir or soloists, might be heard. As a result, sequences held a special force in the formation of communal identity, and Hildegard took advantage of this role. In her sequences, she expounded a nuanced Eucharistic theology.[38] She encouraged the nuns

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[37] *Symph.* (Eng.), p. 297; Ibid., p. 437: "Que dum in alia uinea plantate essent, / ibi tulit eas Spiritus sanctus, / et tibi as nobiliter in misterio [ministerio] suo coniunxit."

[38] On this, see Margot E. Fassler, "The Female Voice: Hildegard of Bingen and the Song of Songs," in *Scrolls of Love: Ruth and the Song of Songs*, eds. Peter Hawkins and Lesleigh Cushing Stahlberg (New York, 2006), pp. 255–67.

of her community to partake of the love feast at the altar with attitudes that shaped their monastic vocation and fused their work with the all-encompassing relationship between Jesus as the bridegroom and the Church as his spouse. Her ideas about what the Eucharist meant for her nuns are expressed most fully in *O Ecclesia*, her sequence for the feast of Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins.[39]

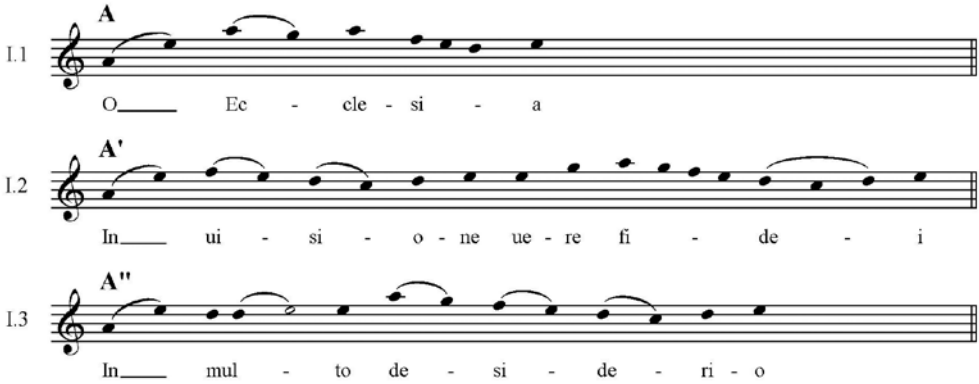
This sequence offers an allegorical explanation, rich in imagery, for the events of Ursula's martyrdom. The music works on several levels to proclaim the text and express its meanings. On the simplest level, it provides melodic gestures to open and close each textual phrase; Hildegard's musical settings always respect her texts, even when she incorporates earlier melodies into her own. The music of *O Ecclesia* binds particular strophes together, and, through the repetition characteristic of the genre, allows the imagery of musically related poetic units to create a vibrant intensity.

This is seen (and heard) right at the beginning of the sequence, as the first three poetic stanzas (beginning "O Ecclesia," "In visione," and "In multo desiderio") are set to melodically related musical strophes, shown in Example 3 as A, A', and A." Hildegard's textual and melodic relationships are freer and less predictable than those in much of the medieval sequence repertoire; strophic repetitions are sometimes strong, sometimes tenuous, and never exact. For instance, the repeated material (A) in the opening is constantly varied, allowing for differences in the paired lines of texts. In all of her music, Hildegard continuously generated newer melodic material as she repeated earlier phrases, ever positioning these phrases in new contexts.

Elements of the opening melodies return throughout the sequence, exhibiting yet another characteristic of Hildegard's compositional process: formal disintegration. The various statements of the A melodic material are more closely related at the beginning of the song than when they appear in later guises. Later strophes, too, are less linked to each other melodically than are the early strophes. In short, Hildegard's sequence steadily becomes less formally ordered. This foundation of varied repetition sets in relief the climax of the sequence and its narrative: the anguish of the earth's elements over the martyrdom of Ursula, expressed toward the end

[39] For a discussion of the sequence and its theological meanings, see Margot Elsbeth Fassler, "Music for the Love Feast: Hildegard of Bingen and the Song of Songs," in *Women's Voices across Musical Worlds*, ed. Jane Bernstein (Boston, 2004), pp. 92–117; Fassler, "Female Voice"; and Fassler, "History and Practice: The Opening of Hildegard's *Scivias* in a Liturgical Framework," *Religion and Literature* 42.1 (2010): 211–27. See also *Epistolarium*, III, 386, pp. 149–51, a commentary on Mt. 26:26–29.

Example 3. Three A phrases from the sequence *O Ecclesia*, first strophe



of the song by the German vernacular *Wach!* and set to music unheard in earlier strophes. From beginning to end, Hildegard's music points to the allegorical significance of the piece as a whole.

This allegory is also immediately apparent in the musical structure. The interwoven melodies of the opening strophes create a multilayered exposition of the Church as the bride of the Song of Songs and of Ursula as a consecrated virgin yearning to be the bride of Christ. Hildegard employs the biblical place Bethel ("house of God") to sustain both images. Bethel has special significance in her exegesis in *Scivias* and in her chant texts. It is here that Jacob had the vision of the ladder to heaven (Gen. 28:11–22) and where he returned to build a new altar at God's command (Gen. 35:1–7). The commemorative liturgy for the dedication of the church found in most office manuscripts features chants whose texts describe Jacob's vision and his return to Bethel (e.g. Engelberg 103, fol. 156). In *O Ecclesia*, Ursula has a vision of Christ and longs for him, consecrating her body and anticipating mystical union with the Lord. In this she is, like the Virgin Mary, an archetype of the Church (Ecclesia); Ecclesia ever presents the dowry of Christ's body and blood for the salvation of souls. Hildegard says of Ecclesia in *Scivias* 2.6: "By divine power she was led to Him, and raised herself upward so that she was sprinkled by the blood from His side; and thus, by the will of the Heavenly Father, she was joined with Him in happy betrothal and nobly dowered with His body and blood."[40]

[40] *Scivias* (Eng.), p. 237; *Scivias* 2.6, pp. 229–30: "Et post haec uidi cum Filius Dei in cruce pependit quod praedicta muliebris imago uelut lucidus splendor ex antique consilio propere progrediens per diuinam potentiam ad ipsum adducta est, et sanguine qui

However, Ursula is not merely the bride of Christ anticipating and participating in a joyful nuptial feast. In Hildegard's sequence, she joins in the sacrificial action of the cross as a model of the Church. Her slaughter is lamented, but she and her companions become the chain of pearls that stuffs the gaping maw of the devil, much in the same way that the Virgin Mary conquers Satan through her spotless birth. Ursula's self-denial and sacrifice are redemptive, by implication joining other consecrated virgins to the work of the cross, not once, but twice. Ursula is the bride of Christ, both through her mystical union with him and through her choosing to drink from the cup of martyrdom. Hildegard's commentaries on the meanings of the Eucharist and the role of Ecclesia at the altar of sacrifice provide context to the sequence text and its dramatic musical setting, demonstrating the close connection between her theological writings and her liturgical music. The illumination that accompanied *Scivias* 2.6 in the now lost Rupertsberg manuscript[41] depicted Ecclesia (the Church) standing near the sacrifice of the altar, collecting the blood and water flowing from the corpus into a chalice, while some of the liquid spills on Ecclesia herself. (See Figure 1.)

In her sequence, Hildegard describes the people as mocking Ursula "until the fiery burden fell upon her."[42] This "fiery burden" (*ignea sarcina*) is the brilliant light surrounding the consecration of the Mass. It is the sound of the lament for sacrifice that echoes through the universe at the *Sanctus* of the Mass: during its singing, "heaven is suddenly opened and a fiery and inestimable brilliance descends over that offering" (*Scivias* 2.6).[43] Ursula, in the person of Ecclesia, takes the power and pain of redemptive action into her own body. This blood and wine imagery, so befitting the harvest-season feast of St Ursula (October 21), would have had special resonance for local communities nestled among the Rhineland vineyards, as they prepared the drink for their sacramental tables. In her hymn for Ursula, *Cum vox sanguinis*, Hildegard extended the table imagery to the

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de latere eius fluxit se sursum eleuante perfuse ipsi per uoluntatem superni Patris felici desponsatione associata est atque carne et sanguine eius nobiliter dotata."

[41] Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 1.

[42] *Symph.* (Eng.), 64, p. 243; *Symph.*, p. 465, ll. 29–32: "Et ceperunt ludere cum illa / in magna symphonia, / usque dum ignea sarcina / super eam cecidit."

[43] *Scivias* (Eng.), p. 243; *Scivias* 2.6, p. 240: "Sed et ibi euangelio pacis recitato et oblatione quae consecranda est altari superposita, cum idem sacerdos laudem omnipotentis Dei, quod est sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth decantat et sic mysteria eorundem sacramentorum inchoat, repente ignea coruscatio inaestimabilis claritatis aperto caelo super aendem oblationem descendit."

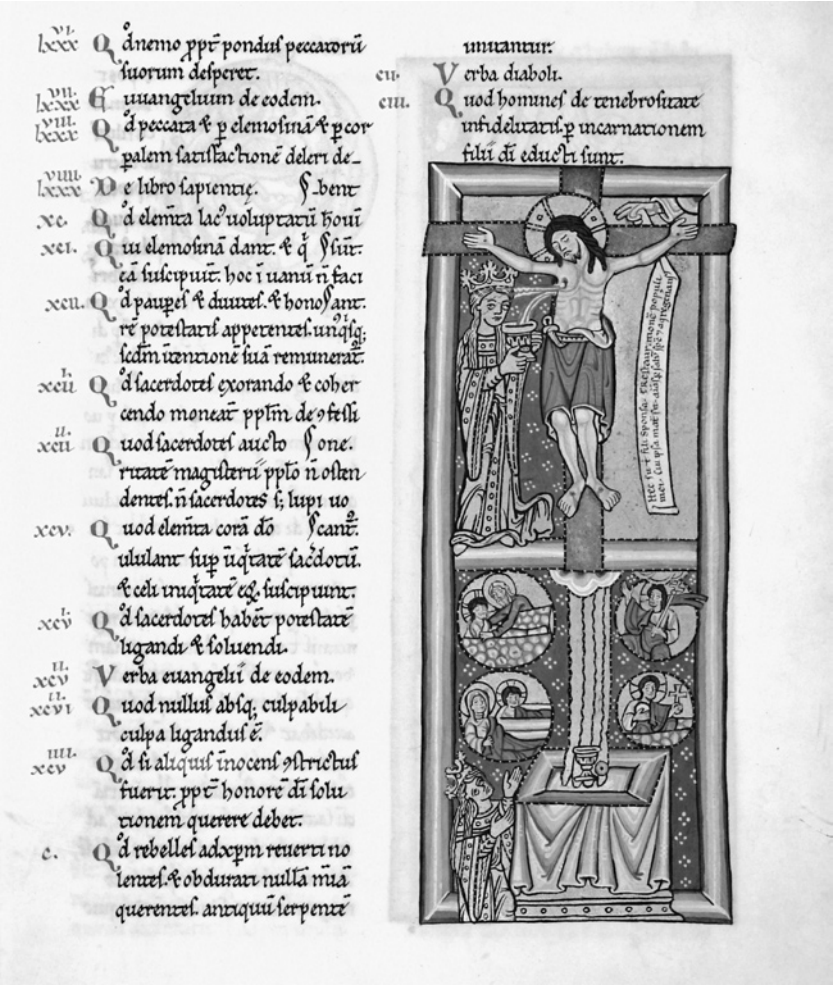


Fig. 1. Rupertsberg Scivias Ms. (*c.*1170), original missing since 1945, handcopy on vellum, Abbey of St Hildegard, Eibingen, *c.*1930, fol. 86r. Used by permission of the nuns of the abbey.

sacrificial acts of the Old Testament (Abel, Isaac, Moses) and challenged all who worship to put on the jewels of the martyrs of Cologne.[44]

[44] *Symph.*, 65, pp. 467–68: "[C]um clarissima voce clamavit / in purissimo auro, thopazio, et saphiro circumamicta in auro. / Nunc gaudeant omnes celi, / et omnes populi cum illis ornentur." *Symph.* (Eng.), 65, pp. 244–47. See also the discussion of the hymn text in William Flynn, "*Ductus figuratus et subtilis*: Rhetorical Interventions for Women in Two Twelfth-Century Liturgies," in *Rhetoric Beyond Words*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge,

Ordering Hildegard's Antiphons for St Ursula

Eight antiphons for St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins are found in the two notated collections of Hildegard's music,[45] with rubrics indicating the occasion (*De undecim milibus virginum*) and the specific liturgical hour (*In matutinis laudibus* or *Laudes*). Typically, the psalmody for a festal lauds service would consist of five antiphons, each preceding and following a psalm or canticle. Moreover, the first, second, third, and fifth antiphons would normally double for the psalmody of second vespers. In monastic use, antiphons marked *in euangelium* would accompany the Gospel canticles of lauds (*Benedictus*) and vespers (*Magnificat*) and, in liturgical performance, would be separated from the psalm antiphons by the chapter reading, responsory, hymn, and versicle and response.

Hildegard's antiphon series thus contains two more antiphons (eight) than is normal for lauds (six: five for the psalms, plus the Gospel antiphon). Her eight antiphons occur in the same order in both manuscripts—five antiphons followed by a Gospel antiphon (*In evangelium antiphona*) and two further antiphons—before rubrics indicate a new entity (*sequentia* in Dendermonde and *De innocentis* in the Riesenkodex). Both manuscripts consistently give the text for psalm cadences (*euouae*), although only Dendermonde provides music for the psalm tone for each antiphon.

This order suggests that the first five antiphons might have accompanied the festal lauds psalmody, and that the Gospel antiphon accompanied the lauds canticle. The remaining antiphons (*Deus enim rorem* and *Sed diabolus*, see Table 3: 6–7, below) might then have been reserved for processions or minor offices later in the liturgical day.[46] However, neither of these texts stands easily apart from the other antiphons, as both contain demonstrative pronouns (*illas* and *istud*) with no clear referents, unless they are performed as part of the series. Moreover, the antiphon *Sed diabolus* ends with the devil mocking the *opus Dei*—the chanting of the liturgy—and thus offers an inappropriate conclusion to a self-contained rite such as a procession.

2010), pp. 250–80, at pp. 264–75. An analysis (and new edition) of the hymn's music is forthcoming in William Flynn, "Hildegard of Bingen's *Cum vox sanguinis*: a Postlude," *Colloquium: Music, Worship, Arts* 6 (2009–2011).

[45] Dendermonde, fols 167v–168v; Riesenkodex, fols 471vb–472rb, see fn. 14 above. A fuller discussion of the texts, manuscript transmission, and rubrics is in William Flynn, "Reading Hildegard of Bingen's Antiphons for the 11,000 Virgin-Martyrs of Cologne: Rhetorical *ductus* and Liturgical Rubrics," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 56 (2012): 171–89.

[46] Pfau and Morent suggest a reconstruction of the service along these lines in *Klang des Himmels*, pp. 61, 260–67.

A more coherent solution, in which all eight antiphons could be performed at lauds, would follow a rare variation of the festal liturgy in which Psalms 148–150 (normally sung as one psalm with a single antiphon) were sung to separate antiphons.[47] This entails moving the Gospel antiphon so that it forms a conclusion to the service as a whole. With its clear concluding conjunctions (*Et ideo*) and subject (*puelle iste*), this antiphon easily stands apart from the series.[48]

If the Gospel antiphon is removed from the series as ordered in the manuscripts,[49] the three remaining antiphons (*Deus enim, Aer enim*, and *Deus enim rorem*, Table 3: 4–6) can be shown to be linked by their rhetorical and musical structures. Each of them offers a justification (signaled by the conjunction *enim*) of men's support for women's religious institutions, as found, respectively, in Scripture, nature, and the sacraments, especially the Eucharist.

Table 3. Proposed ordering of Ursula Antiphons[50]

1	Studium divinitatis	The desire of divinity,
	in laudibus excelsis	amid highest praises,
	osculum pacis	gave a kiss of peace
	Ursule virgini	to the virgin Ursula,
	cum turba sua	with her throng,
	in omnibus populis dedit.	before all the peoples.
2	Unde quocumque venientes	Hence, coming to wherever
	perrexerunt,	they went,
	velut cum gaudio celestis paradisi	they were received
	suscepte sunt,	as with the joy of heavenly paradise,
	quia in religione morum	because in their religious practices
	honorifice apparuerunt.	they appeared honorably.

[47] This practice, although rarely recorded, did exist in some Benedictine houses of the 12th century. For example, the Winchcombe Breviary (*c.*1150) records a series of seven antiphons for lauds on Christmas (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 116 (109), fols 56v–57r). See also John B. L. Tolhurst, *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, vol. 6: Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries, *Henry Bradshaw Society* 80 (London, 1942), p. 196.

[48] Barbara Newman and Walter Berschin have each noted that the series forms a connected narrative and have edited them accordingly, but since they preserve the manuscript order, the Gospel antiphon is arguably misplaced. Newman, *Symph.* (Eng.), pp. 309–11; see also *Symph.*, pp. 462–63. Berschin, "Eine Offiziendichtung in der *Symphonia* Hildegards von Bingen: Ursula und die Elftausend Jungfrauen (carm. 44)," in *Context*, pp. 157–62.

[49] Perhaps the order in the manuscripts is intended to mark the initial antiphons from which the second vespers antiphons would be extracted.

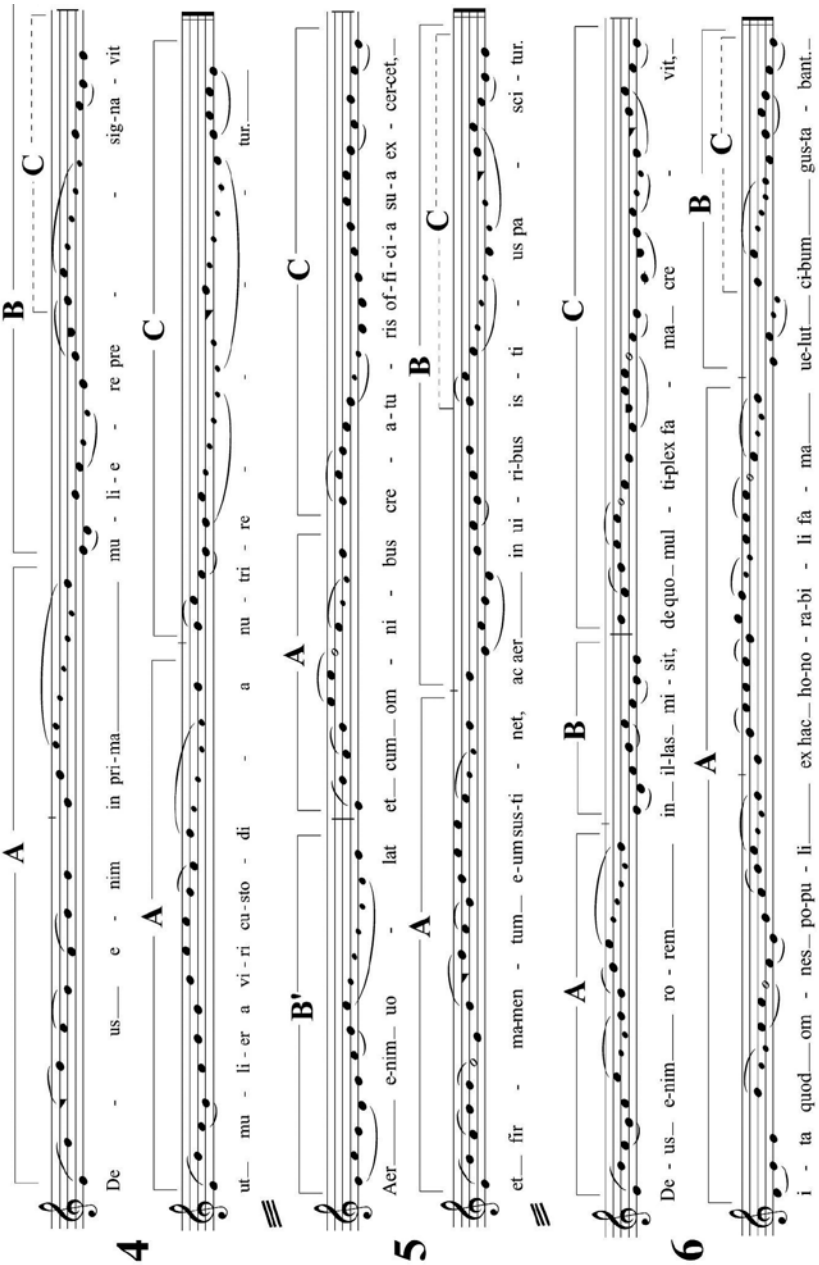
[50] Translations by Flynn. Antiphon numbers in parentheses reflect the order in the manuscripts.

Table 3 (*cont.*)

3	De patria etiam earum et de aliis regionibus viri religiosi et sapientes ipsis adiuncti sunt, qui eas in virginea custodia servabant et qui eis in omnibus ministrabant.	And from their fatherland and from other regions, men who were religious and wise were joined to them, and they kept them in virginal protection and ministered to them in all things.
4	Deus enim in prima muliere presignavit ut mulier a viri custodia nutriretur.	For God foreshadowed in the first woman that woman, by the protection of man, should be nurtured.
5	Aer enim volat et cum omnibus creaturis officia sua exercet, et firmamentum eum sustinet ac aer in viribus istius pascitur.	For the air flies, and, with all created things, it fulfills its duties, and the firmament supports it, and the air is nourished by its powers.
6 (7)	Deus enim rorem in illas misit, de quo multiplex fama crevit, ita quod omnes populi ex hac honorabili fama velut cibum gustabant.	For God sent a dew upon them, from which manifold renown grew, so that all the people feasted from this honorable renown, as if it were a meal.
7 (8)	Sed diabolus in invidia sua istud irrisit, qua nullum opus Dei intactum dimisit.	But the devil, in his envy, mocked this [God's work]; by that envy, no work of God has he left undefiled.
	[chapter—responsory—hymn—versicle and response]	
8 (6)	(Gospel antiphon:) Et ideo puelle iste per summum virum sustenabantur, vexillate in regali prole virginee nature.	And therefore those girls, by the highest man were upheld, emblazoned with the royal offspring of virginal nature.

Musically, these three antiphons (4–6) are in the same mode (E *deuterus*), and they elaborate three groups of common thematic material (see Example 4). Group A opens with a rising fifth (E-h), emphasizes the note e at its upper boundary, and cadences from a tone below on h. Group B decorates

Example 4. Musical structure of *Deus enim*, *Aer enim*, and *Deus enim rorem*



the note E in its opening and, with one exception (marked B'), cadences from the semi-tone above on E, often in combination with Group C. Group C stresses the note h at its opening and cadences like Group B. Each group appears in basic and elaborated forms.

The rhetorical development and musical unity of these three antiphons suggests that they form part of the same unit (i.e. the lauds psalmody). The final psalm antiphon, *Sed diabolus*, provides a rhetorical counterexample to the previous three antiphons, signaled by the use of the conjunction *sed*. This antiphon frames the singing of Psalm 150, which ends, "Let every spirit praise the Lord."[51] Its repetition thus forms a striking conclusion to the psalmody, as the devil (a spirit) refuses the psalm's injunction and directly mocks the *opus Dei*, the singing of the Divine Office itself.

While the psalmody ends with the devil in triumph (implying that the martyrdom has taken place), this apparent triumph is overturned by the hymn *Cum vox sanguinis*, which describes the voice of the martyrs' blood as it rises to heaven and is heard and rewarded there, and also by the Gospel antiphon (*Et ideo*), in which the martyrs are emblazoned (*vexillate*) with Christ's royal banner. The proposed order thus makes it possible to perform the full antiphon series in its proper service (lauds) and in a liturgical order that maintains the connections between the rhetorically and musically related antiphons. The resulting series forms a more compelling narrative than solutions found in modern editions and recorded performances.

Conclusion

Hildegard's songs complement her visionary writings, drawing upon, expanding, and sometimes clarifying their imagery or theology.[52] While some songs may have been written originally as revelations without music, many were likely composed as liturgical songs from the outset, to the melodies recorded in Dendermonde and the Riesenkodex, or their like. When heard or read in context within the Mass or Divine Office, the songs accumulate layers of meaning beyond Hildegard's texts. Her vivid images interact with the centuries-old symbolism of the liturgy to powerful effect,

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[51] Ps. 150:6, Douay-Rheims; "omnis spiritus laudet Dominum." Biblia Sacra Vulgata.

[52] For a discussion of intertextuality in Hildegard's work, see Beverly Kienzle and Travis Stevens's chapter in this volume, "Intertextuality in Hildegard's Works: Ezekiel and the Claim to Prophetic Authority," pp. 137–62. See also *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 199–243.

as demonstrated by the reordering of the Ursula antiphons. Similarly, the sequence *O Ecclesia* celebrates not only the story of the virgin-martyr of Cologne (and company) but also the Church at large and its sacraments, particularly the liturgy of the Eucharist, the focus of the Mass at which the chant would have been sung.

Through the liturgy, religious communities on earth joined saints and angels in the symphony of heavenly praise. As our case studies have shown, Hildegard used liturgical song itself to broadcast her vision of this symphony as recorded in *Scivias* 3.13. Ursula, Disibod, and Rupert—indeed all the saints commemorated in her songs—became patrons of and participants in the divine liturgy celebrated by their earthly followers. Remembered for their historical roles in the Church, they also became symbols of the Church to come: the celestial city of the apocalypse, the bride of Christ.

Hildegard's songs offer musical hagiographies of the saints, performative visions of their stories and significance. In the case of local saints, like Disibod, her songs did much to individualize their cults; one need only compare Disibod's office in Engelberg 103 with Hildegard's songs for the confessor (and apostle). Hildegard's evocative lyrics and expansive melodies combine to offer memorable tributes of praise and adoration. Her songs for saints reflect her spiritual activities on the Rupertsberg and her outreach beyond. Through them Hildegard urged her nuns, and religious communities elsewhere, to follow the saints in sustaining the Church and renouncing the devil as they performed with joy the work of God.

THE THEOLOGY OF REPENTANCE: OBSERVATIONS ON THE *LIBER VITE MERITORUM**

Susanne Ruge

The *Liber Scivias* is described as a "*Summa theologiae* in a series of illuminations" in works written as early as those by scholars such as Baillet and Liebeschütz.[1] This is a description that emphasizes the particular interplay between word and image in Hildegard's first visionary text. Michael Zöller and Jörg Ulrich have also made reference to this phenomenon in more recent years.[2] Zöller emphasizes that a *summa* in the 12th century did not necessarily refer to a *summa quaestionum* in the more narrow scholastic meaning, but rather could refer to a "representation of salvation and salvation history in its entirety."[3] Additionally, "the *summa* is shorthand for an encyclopedic, synthesizing, and pedagogical undertaking, an *ordo* that offers a systematic presentation of God and the world in their relationship to each other."[4]

The same can also be said about the *Liber vite meritorum*. In this work as well, the entirety of salvation history is unfolded for the reader as God, humankind, and the cosmos are represented in their interconnected relationships from a pedagogical point of view. Regularly recurring themes in the visionary interpretations include descriptions of visions that portray the afterlife, particularly purgatory, as well as dialogues between virtues and vices to like effect. Yet the most important theme may well be the concrete instructions for penitential behavior that appear at the respective ends of the first five of the six total sections, and which are expressly

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* Translated by Rebecca L. Garber.

[1] See Louis Baillet, "Les Miniatures du 'Scivias' de Sainte Hildegarde conservé à la bibliothèque de Wiesbaden," *Monuments et Mémoires* 19 (1911): 49–149, 58; Hans Liebeschütz, *Das allegorische Weltbild der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 16 (Leipzig, 1930), p. 10.

[2] Jörg Ulrich, "Vision bei Hildegard von Bingen. Beobachtungen zur Vita Gottfrieds und Theoderichs und zu den Visionsschriften Hildegards," *Kerygma und Dogma* 47.1 (2001): 14–29.

[3] Michael Zöller, *Gott weist seinem Volk seine Wege. Die theologische Konzeption des 'Liber Scivias' der Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179)*, Tübinger Studien zur Theologie und Philosophie 11 (Tübingen, 1997), p. 533.

[4] Zöller, *Gott weist seinem Volk*, p. 533.

linked to the particular vices portrayed.[5] The regularity of the structure indicates an intentional assembly of textual genres from the outset and provides the *Vite mer.* with a very unique profile.

Unlike the *Scivias*, the *Vite mer.* contains only one central, visionary image: A man stands in the cosmos, his head in the clouds of the ether and his feet above the waters of the abyss. All other visionary descriptions and auditions that appear over the course of the text can be and are interpreted through this foundational image. With respect to the *Vite mer.*, then, one must consistently refer to a *summa imago*.

The following essay will more fully examine this particular profile, especially its relation to the structure of the work and the interplay of the individual genres. To this end, the first part provides a description of the visionary image and an explanation of how the structure of the text results from it. In a second part, the foundational intent of the work will be teased out of the regularly recurring formulaic admonishments. This leads to the primary focus of this essay, which is a detailed depiction of the various textual genres and their function for the composition of the totality of the *Vite mer.*

Visionary Image and the Structure of the Liber vite meritorum

Since the entire *Vite mer.* is structured around the visionary image depicted at the beginning of the text, it is vital to the reader's understanding that this image be described and related to the foundational structure of the text. The image presents a gigantic man who stands amid the cosmos. In Hildegard's words:

> And I saw a man of such great height that he extended from the tops of the clouds in heaven to the abyss. He stood such that his head and shoulders rise into the pure ether; from his shoulders to his thighs, he is wrapped in a shining cloud; from his thighs to knees, he is enveloped in the air of this world; from the knees to his calves, he stands immersed in the earth; and from his calves to the soles of his feet, he rests in the waters of the abyss, however, such that he remained over the abyss.[6]

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[5] The *Liber vite meritorum (Vite mer.)* consists of six sections; the structure of the entire work is described in part 1 below.

[6] *Vite mer.*, 1, p. 10, ll. 4–11: "ET VIDI uirum tante proceritatis, quod a summitate nubium celi usque in abyssum pertingebat, ita quod ab humeris suis sursum supra nubes in serenissimo ethere erat; et ab humeris deorsum ad femora sua sub eisdem nubibus in alia quadam candida nube; et a femoribus ad genua sua in terreno aere; et a genibus ad

The structure of the *Vite mer.* follows the division of the visionary description. The first five parts of the six-part work follow the "Man in the Cosmos" from top to bottom: part one treats the region of the head in the ether; part two concerns the torso; part three, the area of the thighs, which are located in the air; part four, the region of the earth, into which the calves of the man extend; and part five concludes with his feet above the waters of the abyss.

Each of the five parts begins with a description of a vision. These visionary introductions appear in tripartite form: initially, new details regarding the respective area of the figure of the man are described; these are followed by dialogues between five to seven virtues and vices; and finally, a figure representing the *zelus Dei*, the zeal of God, is described.

Even though virtues and vices are depicted in each of the five parts of the book, they also have their own location in the initial vision, which is described in part one. For this reason, the details depicted in part one concerning the region of the man's head are also centrally relevant for the entire text. There are three clouds of essential importance, which float in front of and next to the man's face. One of these clouds contains, among other things, the voices of the virtues. In the northern quadrant of the image there is a great darkness and a mist vomited forth by a snake, which represents the devil. The figures of the vices are found within this mist.

In each of the first five parts, this initial section, i.e. the tripartite visionary description, is followed by a second section consisting of a sentence-by-sentence interpretation of the visionary image, the vices, and the *zelus Dei*. This second, interpretive section always ends with a uniform concluding formula.[7]

The third section is the longest component of each of the five parts, as new visionary elements are introduced, which include Hildegard's visions about the place of purification. These visions have their own location: in the darkness in the northern quadrant of the primary visionary image. Suggestions for acts of penance and general rebukes directed at the respective vices follow the visions.

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suras suas in terra; et a suris deorsum ad plantas suas in aquis abyssi, ita quod etiam supra abyssum stabat."

[7] "Hec autem de penitentium animabus purgandis et saluandis dicta sunt, et fidelia sunt; et fidelis his attendat, et ea in memoriam bone scientie componat." *Vite mer.*, 1.124, p. 65. See also 2.85, p. 118; 3.84, p. 168; 4.70, p. 213; 5.86, p. 259. The conclusion to the entire work is a slightly variant formula, 6.292.

An outline is included here to provide a better overview of the repetitive structure of the first five parts of the *Liber vite meritorum*.

Section One: Visionary description and audition
1) Details on the figure of the Man in the Cosmos
2) Description of the figures of the vices as well as the words spoken by the vices and virtues.
3) Description of the figure of the *zelus Dei* and a record of its words

Section Two: Interpretation
1) Audition
2) Interpretation of details regarding the figure of the Man in the Cosmos
3) Interpretation of the description of the figures of the vices as well as the words spoken by the vices and virtues.
4) Interpretation of the description of the figure of the *zelus Dei* and its words
5) Concluding formula: "Whosoever has the desire to live, he should receive these words in that [desire] and enshrine them in the innermost chamber of his heart."[8]

Section Three: Place of purification and penitential acts for the vices in each respective part
1) Vision of the penitential punishments with an introduction, in which the evil spirits acknowledge Satan as their lord and the name of each vice is stated
2) Suggested penitential acts
3) Reflections about the respective vices
4) Concluding formula: "This is spoken about the souls of the penitents, which will be purified and redeemed, and it is true; the faithful should attend to this and enshrine it in the memory of good understanding."[9]

The conclusion of the *Vite mer.* is formed by a sixth part, which has a completely different structure. It describes the metamorphosis of the world in

[8] "Qui autem uite desiderium habet, in illo uerba hec percipiat, ac ea in interius cubiculum cordis sui recondat." *Vite mer.*, 1.75, p. 48; 2.56, p. 105; 3.45, p. 155; 4.42, p. 201; 5.39, p. 245; 6.8, p. 267.

[9] "Hec autem de penitentium animabus purgandis et saluandis dicta et fidelia sunt; et fidelis his attendat, et ea in memoriam bone scientie componat." *Vite mer.*, 1.87, p. 51; see also, for example, 1.88, pp. 53–54; 2.60, p. 107; 2.63, p. 109; 3.49, p. 156; 3.53, p. 158; 4.46, p. 203; 4.48, p. 204; 5.42, p. 246; 5.46, p. 248.

the Last Days,[10] followed by another vision of the place of purification and of hell,[11] as well as considerations about the four elements.[12] Seven visions on the heavenly joys and their interpretation form the focal point of part four,[13] to which are linked an audition in which the Son of Man speaks, as well as additional interpretations.[14] The conclusion to the work as an entirety is an auditory experience which confirms that this book contains God's word and was not invented by Hildegard.[15]

The entire text is stylistically an extended allegory, and everything that is described in the visions and auditions is interpreted sentence by sentence in connection with this stylistic choice.

What is the foundational thought behind this artfully constructed work? In order to answer this question, it makes sense to initially consider the repetitive formulae at the end of the individual sections and parts of the *Vite mer.*

What Is the Liber vite meritorum *About?—The Concluding Formulae*

Each section in which the visionary descriptions are interpreted ends with the words: "Whosoever has the desire to live, he should receive these words in that [desire] and enshrine them in the innermost chamber of his heart."[16] "Live" in this sense refers to living eternally as well as to a form of earthly living during which a person prepares for eternal life. The *Vite mer.* is concerned with how a life would look that leads to eternal life.

The path to this eternal life is indicated in the concluding formulae that appear at the end of each section about an individual vice, its chastisements, and the corresponding penitential acts: "This is spoken about the souls of the penitents, who will be purified and redeemed, and it is true; the faithful should attend to this and enshrine it in the memory of a good conscience."[17]

The *Vite mer.* thus addresses those people who perform penance in order to purify themselves and to achieve salvation. Penance is *the* path

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[10] *Vite mer.*, 6, pp. 265–67.
[11] Ibid., 6, pp. 267–71.
[12] Ibid., 6, pp. 271–73.
[13] Ibid., 6, pp. 274–86.
[14] Ibid., 6, pp. 286–91.
[15] Ibid., 6, pp. 291–92.
[16] Ibid., 1.85, p. 48; 2, p. 105; 3, p. 155; 4, p. 201; 5, p. 245; 6, p. 267.
[17] Ibid., 1.87, p. 51; 1, pp. 53–54; 2, p. 107; 2, p. 109; 3, p. 156; 3, p. 158; 4, pp. 203–204; 5, p. 246; 5, p. 248.

in the *Vite mer.* that prepares one for eternal life, and in order to attain salvation, one needs a certain understanding.

The formulae speak of a "good understanding", *bone scientie*, which can also be translated as "knowledge or understanding of the good." "Good understanding" is the knowledge that can lead a person to a good, earthly life, and thus to eternal life. Each of the various elements of the *Vite mer.* has its place in this knowledge of the good. The representations of virtues and vices offer the reader a possibility for self-examination and also present models of behavior; the presentations of the afterlife serve as deterrents and as motivations for penitence; the catalogues of penance provide additional information about the latter. However, these elements alone are not sufficient for understanding the good. Practically all dogmatic topics are discussed in conjunction with the interpretations of the Man in the Cosmos: it is here that penance is presented within the context of the entirety of theology and salvation history.

Interpretations of the Figure of the Man in the Cosmos— Summa theologiae *in a Single Image*

In general, Hildegard's visionary works maintain a focus on the entirety of theology. The visionary image in the *Vite mer.* provides the structure for a *Summa* that also explains this whole.

The theology of the *Vite mer.* is based on the foundational conflict between good and evil, which is depicted primarily as the opposition between light and darkness and between the discourse (or speech) of God and the devil. All aspects of theology, such as the teachings about creation, Christology, eschatology, etc., are organized within the structure of this conflict, and the order in which these theological topoi are discussed is directed by the image.

During the explication of this foundational conflict, it is revealed that the *Vite mer.* can be subdivided once again into three large supra-chapters according to content. Parts one and two have a different content and focus than parts three and four, and part five also displays a further shift in focus. This tripartite division corresponds to the structure of the image: parts one and two concern the head and torso of the Man in the Cosmos, which are enveloped by pure ether and a shining cloud; the thighs and calves of parts three and four, in contrast, are surrounded by the air and the earth. Earth and air are among the spheres that directly surround humanity, whereas the two higher spheres, in particular that of pure ether, are distant from human cognition. These perceptional differences

correspond to the focus of the theological content in each part, as will be demonstrated.

In part one, three winds emerge from a trumpet that hangs before the man's mouth. These winds represent three "paths of righteousness",[18] and each wind likewise carries a cloud in which living beings abide. In the first cloud of fire, one finds the angels who burn with love for God and the desire to see his visage. The virtues (*uirtutes*) assist them, such that their will is one with the will of God.[19] Both represent helpers on whom humanity can call.

The second cloud contains the souls of the saints. This is their provisional dwelling place, where they impatiently await the days of the Last Judgement. This cloud is also stirred up because it also holds the works of those who have endured many temptations. These acts shall also serve to assist the souls of the blessed in attaining perfection during the Last Days.[20]

Finally, the third cloud holds the sun and the moon. In this case, as in the *Scivias*, the sun stands for Christ and the moon for the Church. Or, more exactly, the sun represents the "works of virginity in Christ,"[21] by means of which the devil can be conquered. The Church follows the example of Christ and, for its part, fights the devil with its holy works.[22] The Church, which plays such a central role in the *Scivias*, is not mentioned again over the course of the *Vite mer*. However, the sacraments of baptism and penance, as well as the priests, before whom one confesses, remain of central importance. This demonstrates how the topics are weighted in favor of penance. It is important for the reader to know that the Church has a part to play in the battle against the devil; however, with respect to penitence, it is the act of contrition itself, as well as the sacraments and the priests who administer these sacraments, that is of primary importance.

The darkness in the north, and the damned souls that it contains, are described in connection with the interpretations of the other clouds. This is the eternal dwelling place of the souls who followed the works of the devil in life. In the battle against God, the devil deploys the vices, who grant humanity no peace and also delight in tempting individual humans. The contrast between God, who dwells in heaven, and the devil, who resides in darkness, is clearly emphasized.[23]

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[18] Ibid., 1.88, p. 28: "tres vias iustitae."
[19] Ibid., 1, pp. 29–31.
[20] Ibid., 1, pp. 32–33.
[21] Ibid., 1, p. 33: "opera uirginitatis in Christo."
[22] Ibid., 1, pp. 34–35.
[23] Ibid., 1, pp. 35–38.

Thus, even before the purifying punishments are sketched out for the first time and corresponding penitential acts are suggested, the reader is presented with an image about the foundational conflict in which humanity finds itself. The reader knows with certainty which means the devil employs in this battle, and what threatens those humans who rely upon Satan. Readers are also granted the knowledge that God has sent the virtues, Christ, and the Church in order to defeat the devil and to assist humanity. Finally, the reader also learns that there is a possibility of winning the battle against evil because those souls who dwell in the heavenly residence awaiting their final salvation give voice to this information.

Part two concerns salvation history. The Man in the Cosmos has wings upon his chest, upon which appear books, representing the Old and New Testaments. God defeats the devil in the New Testament, in that Christ's virginal birth and his sacrifice upon the cross ultimately prevail. God's powerful and sovereign speech and his actions are again evident in the history of salvation, as part two is primarily concerned with the power that God expresses in the crucifixion, and in God's plan, which is fulfilled by the virgin birth and the sacrifice.[24]

The souls of the saints who have died also speak in part two as the reader is shown what God has done for humanity, how powerfully he has conquered the devil, and what the future offers to those who perform penance.

All of the above are topics about which humanity knows nothing except through revelations from God. Parts one and two sketch out the contents of God's divine will, events that occurred before the time of humanity, and important background knowledge for understanding humankind's present situation.

This revelatory knowledge is contrasted in parts three and four with topics concerning the theology of creation and anthropology. Natural coherencies are presented, such as waxing and waning, rising and falling.[25] The cosmos is presented as it stands in the good order created by God: a universe, in which all beings have a task, and insofar as each fulfills this task, then each also offers praise unto God. Humanity's task, within this cosmos, is to speak out in praise of God; the task of other beings, such as plants, exists in that they nourish humanity and thus enable the latter to

[24] Ibid., 2, p. 86.
[25] Ibid., 3, pp. 137–38; 4, pp. 183–85.

praise God.[26] This good order, in which humanity holds responsibility for the entirety of creation, is also destroyed by sins committed by individual humans. The elements lament, "We cannot run and complete our path as we were set to do by our master. Humanity overthrows us, like a mill wheel, with their perverse works."[27]

Humans themselves have the ability to decide which path each individual will take, that leading to the devil or that of God. However, all require God's help. In the middle of part three, there is a prayer-like textual segment, which shows how this petition, which trusts in God's assistance, might look:

> My God, through whom I am created and through whom I live and towards whom I strive when I sigh, and from whom I petition all goodness, because I know that He Himself is my God, and because I feel that I owe it to Him to serve, as I have my knowledge through Him: He is my helper in all good things because I complete good works through Him.[28]

This section demonstrates that in the relationship between God and humanity, humanity is always dependent on God's help in human action(s). The prayer presents a hopeful general disposition on the part of those praying, which is passed on to the reader.

At the end of part four, Christ is presented as the model for correct behavior: "Because when the Son of God came into the world, he had made everything [the miracle of the creation], and showed the believers the path to righteousness through his person."[29] The discourse used by God and Christ changes over the course of the work: in parts one and two, Christ appears primarily as the powerful conqueror of the devil, and in part four, which concerns earthly things, Christ is introduced as a model for mortal life.

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[26] Ibid., 4, p. 184.

[27] Ibid., 3.1, p. 124, ll. 15–18: "Currere et iter nostrum perficere non possumus, sicut de preceptore nostro posita sumus. Nam homines prauis operibus suis uelut molendinum subuertunt nos." For additional references to the mill in Hildegard's works, see *Epistolarium*, I, 25R, p. 72, ll. 46–48; *Expo. Euang.*, 48, p. 314, l. 7, and sources in the *apparatus fontium* on that page.

[28] Ibid., 3.21, p. 137, ll. 447–51: "Deus meus, per quem creatus sum et per quem uiuo et ad quem tendo, cum suspiro, et a quo queque bona postulo, quia ipsum Deum meum esse scio et quia me illi seruire debere sentio, quoniam per eum intellectum habeo: in omnibus bonis adiutor meus est, quia bona opera per ipsum perficio."

[29] Ibid., 4.23, pp. 185–86, ll. 450–52: "quoniam Dei Filius in mundum ueniens hec omnia fecit, et credentibus per semetipsum uiam rectitudinis ostendit."

These two primary strands, cosmology and anthropology, run through parts three and four, and concern human actions in the earthly realm that directly surrounds them and with which they directly interact. The focal point is prayer offered by the human soul to God; the speech register of these parts changes from an explanatory to a pastoral character.

Part five concludes with the image of the waters of the abyss and the abyss itself. This is linked to considerations about the strength of God as the foundation of the universe, as well as about the purifying function of water during baptism.[30] God sends his Holy Ghost and his virtues to strengthen humankind.[31] The forgiveness of sins forms the base in conjunction with penance and baptism. The discussion here turns to God's charity and mercy. Christ appears as the one who forgives sins.

> When God was made man, he found this in his purview, which pleased him very much, namely, forgiving the sins of the penitent. . . . Therefore it pleased his heavenly Father, who had Himself given Him this power, that he might remit the sins of those who perform penance.[32]

Thus, at the end of the interpretation in part five, the merciful God appears, the charitable God who grants hope to the penitential. The various theological topoi culminate in the central theme of the text, that is, penance.

Part six revolves around the goal of salvation history, the Last Judgement. On this day, the final purification from all disturbances caused by evil will take place. The good order of the cosmos will be reinstated through this purification, and only those who have completely committed themselves to the devil and are not prepared to perform penance will be banished into torment and oblivion with Satan. In contrast, the heavenly joys stand ready to receive the purified souls at the end of times.

Through the structure offered by the initial image, the topics are organized in a way that proffers a development beginning with salvation history, through cosmological and anthropological realities, and arriving at the sacraments of penance and baptism; it also provides a change in the representation of God from the majestic, powerful God to a God who is indeed strong and capable, yet prefers to forgive humanity its sins due to His mercy and charity.

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[30] Ibid., 5, pp. 227–30.

[31] Ibid., 5, p. 230.

[32] Ibid., 5.27, p. 232, ll. 426–28, 430–32: "Deus autem homo factus in tabernaculo suo inuenit quod sibi ualde placuit, uidelicet penitentibus peccata ignoscere. [. . .] unde superno Patri suo placuit quod ipsi potestatem hanc daret, ut illis qui penitentiam facerent peccata dimitteret."

How is penance thus integrated into this system? It is connected with cosmology and the necessity of purification, as is explained in the following section.

The Relationship Between the Disturbances to the Good Order, Purification, and Penance—The Zelus Dei

A cosmological representation of sin serves as the background of the *Vite mer.* Sin acts as a disturbance to the good order in which God had created the cosmos in the beginning. Every sin, whether an actual human action or merely a thought, has consequences that can be traced through the entire cosmic creation.

Purification serves to renew this good order. Within the context of the *Vite mer.*, purification is primarily understood as various forms of suffering. This suffering can occur during a mortal lifetime, in that a person can be tested by illness, war, or natural catastrophe. Earthly suffering can also include self-imposed penance, which is considered voluntary suffering. This second type of suffering also occurs in the postmortem loci of purification. In these places, the souls endure various forms of primarily physical torments.

Refinement and testing are caused by God, who in his zeal (*zelus*) cannot allow sins to remain unatoned for. The concept of *zelus* has a multivalent spectrum of meaning. It can mean "emulation," "fervor," and "zeal," yet also "jealousy" and "passionate anger."[33] The full spectrum of meaning appears in the *Vite mer.* when the *zelus Dei* is the subject of explication: God's passion for his creation and his created beings, as well as his anger about the disturbance to his good order. However, fervor generally prevails, which cannot eschew purification. Anger is directed at the devil and his machinations, and subsequently at the vices and the sins which these generate. The strength and power of God is emphasized at these points, because a powerful action on the part of God is required in order to protect humanity from the pursuit of the vices.[34]

> Those who are not ready to turn away from the devil and his seductive arts are shackled by the very power of God just as the devil is punished.

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[33] See Albert Sleumer, *Kirchenlateinisches Wörterbuch* (1926; repr. Hildesheim, 1990), p. 839.

[34] *Vite mer.*, 4.39, p. 200.

> Since the devil is the father of disobedience, and all those, who place trust in the devil's advice to be disobedient, despise God's commandments and therefore, if they persist, become members of the devil. Thus, they will be destroyed along with the old deceiver and cast back into the abyss.[35]

Penance can mitigate this judgement because it represents a purifying chastisement that is imposed by the self.

> However, as soon as a person punishes himself for his sins and refrains from sin, then God's zeal to punish him becomes more lenient: because the person has not spared himself and because he threw away that which had previously delighted him.[36]

The following individual aspects of penance are described in the *Vite mer.*: the insight into one's own sins and the renunciation of them, sighing and calling upon God, the new construction of righteous and holy acts, and finally the renown of these deeds, which lead to an entry into the Book of Life.[37] The elements of the prospective sacrament of penance—the recognition of sins, contrition in the heart, and atonement by means of good works—can all be recognized in the penitential list according to the *Vite mer.* Regarding recognition of sin before a priest, the text states:

> This happens everywhere that a sinner is justified through penance: if the sinner, in that he feels remorse, judges himself; if the sinner subjugates himself to the cross of penance; if he wounds himself through tears, in that he acknowledges his sin through the priest.[38]

As in other texts by Hildegard, tears of repentance have a special meaning.[39] They serve the act of purification, because penance itself is

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[35] Ibid., 5.39, p. 245, ll. 892–95: "Diabolus namque pater inobedientie est, et omnes qui consilio inobedientie consentientes precepta Dei contemnunt, sic perseuerantes membra diaboli sunt. Hec omnia cum eodem antiquo seductore destruentur et ad nihilum redigentur."

[36] Ibid., 4.40, p. 200, ll. 957–59: "Cum autem homo se ipsum pro peccatis suis punit et cum peccare desinit, zelus Domini minus eum ferit: quia ille sibimetipsi non pepercit, et quia hoc abiecit, in quo prius delectabatur."

[37] Ibid., 4.41, pp. 200–01, ll. 961–65: "Quandocumque enim homo peccata sua recognoscendo deserit, Deum scit; et quando per suspiria anime ad Deum suspirat, Deum uidet; et quando iusta sancta opera edificare inceperit, angelicum ordinem colit; ac quando bonus rumor bonorum operum inter homines ab ipso uolat, cum cherubin secreta Dei scribit."

[38] Ibid., 3.45, pp. 154–55, ll. 1076–79: "quod ibi est, ubi peccator per penitentiam iustificatur, scilicet cum penitendo se ipsum diiudicat, et cum in cruce penitentie se ponit, et cum lacrimis se uulnerat, peccata sua per sacerdotem confitendo."

[39] On the meaning of tears in Hildegard's texts, see Michael Plattig, "Von Sehnsucht, Herzenszerknirschung und Reue: Die Tränen bei Hildegard von Bingen," *Edith-Stein-Jahrbuch* 5 (1999): 87–103.

> . . . already a fire and a torment. Therefore, the zeal of God does not test that which penance has already purified. However, that which penance has not burned away, that is consumed in God's passionate anger.[40]

It is significant that several orientations towards penance appear here. On the one hand, penance has a purifying function, which is unavoidable within the context of cosmological order. However, penance also effects an alteration in the sinner's attitude, a reorientation and a (re)turn towards God. Penance is supposed to lead to a new life here on earth and in the afterlife, to a life that is determined according to the models of the virtues and not by the whisperings of the vices. For this reason, pedagogical and pastoral aspects can be constantly observed in the explications about the penitential acts (see below, "The Path to Life—The Catalogues of Penance").

The images linked to the *zelus Dei* always have a punishing or powerful character: a lion, an all-cutting sword, a truncheon ready for beating. Accordingly, the interpretations include many statements on the power and strength of God, and also on his desire to punish and purify. This also simultaneously concerns, as demonstrated above, the aiding and salvific function of penance for mankind. Thus, the end of the explanations about the *zelus Dei* in part five concludes with God's mercy and his promise of a new life.

> Thus God embraces the penitent sinners who are beginning to live again after they have abandoned sin, when, having dried up in sin, they prudently perform the shipwreck of their sins through tears of contrition.[41]

The Devil's Weapons and God's Assistants—Vices and Virtues

Representations of virtues and vices have been beloved by authors since at least the time of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*. There are indeed numerous visual presentations of the battle between the virtues and vices, which,

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[40] *Vite mer.*, 4.37, p. 199, ll. 909–11: "Nam quod penitentia purgat, zelus Dei non examinat, quoniam penitentia ignis et flagellum ipsius est; quod uero penitentia non excoquit, idem zelus consumit."

[41] Ibid., 5.39, p. 245, ll. 903–05: "Deus quippe peccatores penitentes suscipit, qui uiuere incipiunt, cum peccata deserendo in peccatis arescunt, et cum naufragium peccatis suis in lacrimis penitentie prudenter faciunt."

in the tradition of the *Psychomachia*, are often shown as an actual armed struggle between knights upon the battlefield.[42]

The confrontation between the virtues and the vices is configured quite differently in the *Vite mer.* This is not battle in the style of a knightly tournament;[43] the figures of the vices are not human fighters equipped with armor; instead, they are hybrid creatures combining human and animal parts. Each element that makes up the composite beings has an allegorical meaning that is explained in the subsequent interpretation. Cowardice (*ignavia*), for example, "had indeed a human head; however, the left ear appeared to be that of a hare, and was indeed so large that it covered the entire head. The rest of the body resembled that of a worm, a boneless, creeping animal."[44] In the subsequent interpretation, it is shown that the hare's ear is a symbol that cowardly people "attend to malicious chatter and thereby remain craven through whisperings and detractions."[45] As they do not place their trust in God, but instead in their own flesh, their bodies resemble that of a worm; in addition, they lack divine strength so that their bodies accordingly have no backbone.[46] The figures of the vices thus reflect their depravity and reveal their true character.

In the battle for the souls of humanity, the vices fight at the behest of the devil, while the virtues strive in the service to God. Their weapons are their words. Even if the ultimate battle between God and the devil has always already been decided through Christ, the soul of each individual human being always remains contested. Only human beings, as the locus of this battle, can determine for themselves on which side they stand. Humans require the assistance of God and the strength of the virtues in order to make this choice. Of greatest importance, however, is the insight into which

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[42] On virtues and vices in Hildegard's works and medieval precedents, see *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 203–09. On catalogues of virtues and vices, see Richard Newhauser, "Tugenden und Laster, Tugend- und Lasterkataloge," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 8 (1997), cols. 1085–1088. Images of the battle between the virtues and vices can be found, among others, in Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art: From Early Christian Times to the 13th Century*, trans. J.P. Alan, Studies of the Warburg Institute 10 (London, 1939; repr. London, 1968).

[43] Countering Grete Børsand Heyerdahl, "Dyder og laster i kamp—Visjon og etikk hos Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179)," *Middelalderforum* 8 (1984): 61–81, at 66.

[44] *Vite mer.*, 1.8, p. 16, ll. 223–28: "QVINTA uero imago uelut humanum caput habebat, excepto quod sinistra auricula eius ut auricula leporis erat, sed tamen tante quantitatis, quod ipsa idem caput totum operiebat. Reliquum autem corpus eius corpori uermis assimilabatur, qui ossibus caret et qui in cauernula sua intextus iacet."

[45] Ibid., 1.71, p. 42, 1112–14: "sed ad malum auditam se conuertentes susurrationibus et detractionibus ignauiter insistunt."

[46] Ibid., 1.71, pp. 42–43.

acts and thoughts stem from the side of the vices and which originate in God. The dialogues between the virtues and the vices are supposed to convey this "good knowledge" to the readers. These discourses thus serve the readers of the text, allowing them to check their own actions and thoughts and, if necessary, to perform penance. After which, it is of primary importance that the penitent strikes out along another, correct path.

While the devil himself is determined to conquer human souls in the *Ordo uirtutum*,[47] in the *Vite mer.* he is served by the vices, who whisper thoughts into human ears in order to recruit humanity to their side. They use arguments that, at first glance, appear logical and convincing. Indeed, they often employ theological reasoning in a campaign to support their faction.

> I will not commit an injury against another, so that I myself will not remain without comfort and assistance. . . . However, I do not need to worry about the saints or the poor, as, in any case, they cannot offer me any benefactions. . . . As long as I dwell among men, I will live in peace with them. Whether they do good or evil, I shall hold my tongue.[48]

The initial argument—that of not wanting to harm another person—sounds quite plausible on the surface. However, the reasoning for this belief twists in another direction, as it has nothing to do with other people—that they should not suffer any harm—but rather that the vice seeks to avoid bringing injury upon itself in this fashion. The conclusions that Cowardice draws from its initial arguments lead to a life of passivity and spinelessness.

The discourse employed by the vices is quite malleable and is distinguished by a great similarity to the spoken word. The vices also enjoy using theological arguments, such as that employed by the "Jestrix" (*Joculatrix*), whose proof is based on the beauty of creation.

> The heavens rejoice in each of its creations. Why should I not also be joyful? . . . God did indeed create the air, which carries such sweet sounds to me. Fresh blossoms emerge for me, providing a lovely view for my joyful heart. Why should I not rejoice in it?[49]

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[47] See *Ordo*, pp. 505–21.

[48] *Vite mer.*, 1.9, p. 17, ll. 229–30, 233–34, 237–39: "Ad nullius iniuriam uadam, ne exul absque consolatione adiutorii fiam. . . . de sanctis autem et de pauperibus nihil curabo, quoniam nulla beneficia mihi impendere possunt. . . . Quandiu cum hominibus fuero, quieta cum illis manebo; et siue bonum siue malum faciant, silebo."

[49] Ibid., 1.5, pp. 14–15, ll. 163–64, 168–70: "Celum cum omni creatura, unde et ego cum ipsis gaudebo. [. . .] Deus aerem creauit, qui dulcem sonum mihi confert et qui flores uiriditatis mihi protulit, in quibus uisum oculorum meorum pasco. Et quare non gauderem cum illis?"

In response, the virtue first demonstrates that the Jestrix actually only behaves in a fashion that serves her own desires.[50] The virtues react to the vices: they initially condemn the vices and their viewpoints with harsh words. Following this, they promote God's point of view. With shining colors, they sketch out an alternate conception of life, in which joy in the harmony of creation and heaven finds expression, as well as an emphasis on correct moderation. Compassion (*Misericordia*) answers, e.g. Hard-Heartedness (*Obduratio*), thusly:

> O, you stony visage, what are you saying there? The herbs offer the perfume of their blossoms to each other, a stone reflects its glint at another, and every creature has a drive to attain a loving embrace. Thus all of Nature stands in service to humankind and in this service of love, she happily entrusts humanity with all of her produce. . . . With a loving eye, I take note of all that is necessary and feel myself connected with everything.[51]

In this case, the vice attempts to convince humans through logical arguments, while the virtue employs images from the abundance of nature to show the souls that a completely different evaluation of the world is possible. Nature offers up her wealth, and humanity is mutually invited to participate in this life of joy and harmony.

The virtues have no discernible forms: the reader only hears their voices issuing from the fiery cloud, the locus in which good deeds and the souls of the blessed are found. This pairing is only logical, as the virtues served as aides to the blessed and helped them achieve their good deeds.

Since both sides employ arguments that refer to God, his creation, and the Bible, the reader is initially led into temptation to follow the vices. This is an approach that clearly demonstrates the danger of the vices. However, the *Vite mer.* also shows the reader in a multiplicity of ways that humans should not follow the vices and their arguments. This occurs, on the one hand, through an interpretation of the appearance and the words of the vice, through the counterarguments from the virtues, through a final section on the general meaning of the vices, which concludes the respective parts, and not least, in that each vice invokes Lucifer as its lord before the appropriate penitential acts that purify the soul of that particular vice

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[50] Ibid., 1.6, p. 15, ll. 174–75: "Tu idolatrium es, que omnia secundum uoluntatem tuam facis."

[51] Ibid., 1.8, p. 16, ll. 206–11, 219–20: "O lapidea, quid dicis? Herbe cum floribus suis aliis herbis odorem prebent, ac lapis lapidi sudorem immittit, et omnis creatura noto suo amplexis ostendit. Omnes quoque creature homini ministrant, ac in illa ministratione homini bonum libenter inferunt. [. . .] Oculis enim meis omnia necessaria inspicio, et me illis coniungo."

are described.[52] At this point, the reader is decisively remanded from any ignorance as to which spirit, good or evil, is represented in the words of the vices.

A monastic context stands in the background for the selection of the virtues and vices. Among the seven vices in part one, for example, four appear that illustrate the dangers of the worldly life: Love of the World (*Amor seculi*), Impudence (*Petulantia*), the Jestrix (*Joculatrix*), and Foolish Joy (*Inepta letitia*). It is thus clearly a monastic code of ethics that provides the framework for the *Vite mer.* The Benedictine virtue of *discretio* appears as the central focus.[53] And yet, the statements are universally applicable and can be of use to all people who carry within themselves the "desire to live."

Deterrence and Motivation—The Representations of the Afterlife

The *Vite mer.* includes multiple representations of the afterlife, including conceptions associated with both the Last Judgement and with the time that follows. In a construction that will appear familiar to the reader, the posthumous realm displays a tripartite structure: in addition to heaven and hell, there is a third locus, the place of purification.[54] No information is given, however, about the duration of the punishments.

Over the course of the text, the reader gains knowledge of the afterlife. In parts one and two, this information focuses on the souls of the

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[52] Ibid., 1, pp. 51–52, 53–54, 55–56, 57–59, and 63–64.

[53] On the meaning of *discretio*, see Heyerdahl, "Dyder og laster," pp. 80–81, among others.

[54] The substantive *purgatorium* is not used in the chapter titles of the *Vite mer.*; instead, the reference is always to the purification (*purgatio, Vite mer.*, pp. 216–18), and more often to the purifying punishments (*penis purgatoriis, Vite mer.*, 1.77–78, p. 49; 2, pp. 64, 65, 69, 70, 76, 79, and the table of contents for Books 2–5: pp. 69–70, 120–22, 170–72, and 216–18, respectively). However, the conception of a third location—in which the purification of sinful souls is permitted to occur in the afterlife, and which will ultimately allow these souls to attain heavenly bliss—is fully developed. See Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984); also Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2000), pp. 705–10.

The editors of this volume note that according to the description of manuscripts found in the introduction to the edition of the *Vite mer.*, pp. XLIV–LIX, the tables of contents that begin each part are included in the extant manuscripts. In several manuscripts, one or more of the tables is missing, e.g. the table for part 2 in the Trier manuscript. Of related interest is the fact that in the Vienna manuscript, the chapter titles found in the table of contents are integrated into the text in the section dealing with the disputation between the vices and the virtues; see *Vite mer.*, p. LIV.

blessed who await final salvation after the Last Judgement. The reader is granted a vision of the future that is revealed to believers, "those who persevered in baptism."[55] This incentive appears in all five parts, presented in contrast to the purifying chastisements, which are accorded the greatest amount of text in the representations of the afterlife. The number of punishments described in each part corresponds to the number of vices who held forth.

The primary means of purification appear to be fire and burning of all kinds; however, frigid cold, filth, foul odors, or a slimy pool, as well as bites from a multitude of worms, also appear. Even the very darkness itself serves as an element for chastisement.[56] In this conception, the souls being punished possess some type of physical body so that they can experience these torments. In a singular case, a form of purification is mentioned in which the souls are led to the edge of the fire and the mere possibility of future chastisement serves to effect purification.[57] During the discussion on penitential theology, it has already been demonstrated that purification involving these punishments can be partially or completely mitigated through earthly repentance.

At the end of the *Vite mer.*, in part six, the experiences of the souls in the afterlife following the Last Judgement are described. The first section focuses on those who did not receive baptism: they "suffer no great torment other than the darkness of disbelief."[58]

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[55] *Vite mer.*, 2.34, p. 90, l. 621: "plurimique in baptismo perstiterunt."

[56] Fire appears in the case of all vices except *Inepta letitia* (*Vite mer.*, 1.121, p. 64), *Inanis gloria* (*Vite mer.*, 3.54–56, pp. 158–59), and *Vagatio* (*Vite mer.*, 5.43–45, pp. 247–48). In the case of the latter two vices, sinners have to endure immeasurable amounts of filth and stench. Worms appear as a punishment associated with the various forms of Anger. With regard to the two enormous worms that punish those who murder for greed, Schipperges (Heinrich Schipperges, trans., *Hildegard von Bingen. Der Mensch in der Verantwortung. Das Buch der Lebensverdienste (Liber vitae meritorum)* [Salzburg, 1972], p. 77, n. 7) suggests dragons as an appropriate translation (*Vite mer.*, 1.97–105, here 100, p. 58, ll. 1649–50: "duo maxime et horribilis forme vermes erant"). Darkness appears in relation to *Inobedientia* and *Infidelitas* (*Vite mer.*, 3.57–62, pp. 159–61), whereas cold punishes those who murder in anger (*Vite mer.*, 1.99, p. 58). There is no possibility of purification or repentance in the case of suicides: they are sent immediately to the abyss of hell (*Vite mer.*, 1.105, p. 60).

[57] This occurs with respect to those who occasionally flared up in anger while they lived, yet did not constantly surrender to ire. See *Vite mer.*, 1.98, p. 57, ll. 1634–37: "Anime autem que sine odio et sine consuetudine ire, dum in corporibus suis fuissent, in iram aliquando mote sunt, exute corporibus circa eundem lacum ibant, et magnas penas istas in eo uidebant, ac eas timebant."

[58] *Vite mer.*, 6.9, p. 268, ll. 89–90: "Nam anime iste grauia tormenta non patiebantur, sed tenebras infidelitatis habebant."

Particularly striking is the representation of hell, as Hildegard claims that she cannot see into the eternal damnation. She sees a blackness that is not even illuminated by the light of the fires that burn there, as they do so without flames.

> And hell was there, which held every type of torment, misery, stench, and punishment, but I could see nothing of that or of anything in that darkness, because I was gazing upon the blackness from the outside, not from the inside.[59]

The *Vite mer.* shows the reader which punishments are possible, yet remains on the side of those humans for whom heaven is still an option. Readers do not have to fight their way out of hell; they must only guard themselves from falling down into it. However, after the five parts of the book, Hildegard's readers know what they can do in the meantime to avoid this fate and instead find their way, possibly through penitential purification, to the path that leads to heavenly joy.

The representation of eternal life consists primarily of four elements: costly clothing, perfumes, light, and singing.[60] In the wealth of their light, jewelry, and sound images, the heavenly joys explode beyond the bounds of the work up to this point. And, as occurs at the end of every section, a concluding formula emphasizes yet again that Hildegard cannot see all of the panoply that is prepared for those who enter into heaven.[61]

Of particular interest is the fact that these heavenly joys are organized hierarchically. At the bottom are those penitents from the worldly life who fulfilled their penance over the course of their lives. They are followed in increasing rank by those who lived righteous, worldly lives, those who showed obedience in the religious life, the Doctors of the Church and leaders of the people of God, the martyrs, and above all "those people who served God in the celibate life of virginity."[62] The individual hierarchical

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[59] Ibid., 6.10, p. 268, ll. 103–07: "Et in his gehenna erat, que omne genus cruciatuum et miseriarum et fetorum ac penarum in se habet; sed nihil eorum que in ipsa seu in eisdem tenebris fuerunt, uidere poteram, quoniam easdem tenebras non interius, sed exterius uidebam."

[60] Ibid., 6.25–31, pp. 274–86.

[61] Ibid., 6.25, p. 274, ll. 298–99: "reliquis ornamentis et illorum et istorum, que plurima fuerunt, mihi occultatis." Similar statements appear in *Vite mer.*, 6, pp. 276, 277, 279, 281, 283, 285–86.

[62] Ibid., 6, pp. 262–63, in the chapter titles for sections 25–30: "secularium hominum qui ante horam mortis sue penitendo peccatis suis abrenuntiauerant"; "secularium hominum qui in activa uita precepta legis diligenter obseruauerant"; "spiritalium hominum qui in spiritali uita obedientie se subdiderant"; "hominum qui doctores et rectores in populo Dei existentes bona opera operati sunt"; "hominum illorum qui pro gloria Dei membra sua in martyrio morti subiecerant"; "hominum qui in uirginitatis singularitate Deo seruierant."

levels do not differ fundamentally; music, pleasant perfumes, light, and wondrous clothing are common to all. However, there remain qualitative differences, which appear primarily in the magnificence and adornment of the clothing. The fact that those who lived virginal lives appear at the highest level of this hierarchy may have served to confirm to monastic readers, monks as well as nuns, that they are already on the correct path.

This affirmation must have been especially gratifying for the nuns at the Rupertsberg monastery, as they wore white garments and diverse adornments in their unveiled hair.[63] If one considers as well that Hildegard's own compositions went far beyond contemporary musical styles in length, tonal range, and ornamentation,[64] then it becomes clear that the liturgical prayers for Hildegard's nuns must have represented an anticipation of the heavenly joys. At another point, Hildegard also states that "singing praises of God" represented an "echo of the heavenly harmony."[65]

The extensive amount of detail and the vivid depictions of the heavenly joys have the effect of remaining in the minds of Hildegard's readers and listeners. They then present a continuous motivation for remaining on the arduous path to eternal life.

The Path to Life—The Catalogues of Penance

The penitential catalogues appear at the end of every one of the first five parts, thereby providing an end point for each. On the other hand, these sections are also the shortest: they often consist of a few sentences.

> Whoever follows such vices in this world, but then desires to put aside the whisperings of this diabolic art and shudders with horror before the punishments meted out to this vice, he should chastise his flesh, according to the type and degree of his transgressions, through fasting and avoiding expensive beverages, according to the judgment of his judge.[66]

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[63] See the letter from Tenxwind of Andernach addressed to Hildegard in *Epistolarium*, I, 52, pp. 125–27, at p. 126.

[64] Regarding Hildegard's music, see the essays in this volume by Tova Leigh-Choate, William T. Flynn, and Margot E. Fassler, pp. 163–92 and 193–220, as well as Barbara Stühlmeyer, *Die Gesänge Hildegards von Bingen. Eine musikologische, theologische und kulturhistorische Untersuchung*, Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft 30 (Hildesheim, 2003).

[65] *Epistolarium*, I, 23, p. 64, ll. 127–29: "sic etiam canticum laudum secundum celestem harmoniam per Spiritum Sanctum in Ecclesia radicatum est."

[66] *Vite mer.*, 1.88, pp. 53–54, ll. 1502–07: "Sed qui in seculo huic uitio insistunt, si suasionem huius diabolice artis neglexerint et si penas eiusdem uitii abhorruerint, carnem

This passage displays in an exemplary manner which elements are contained in these sections: a statement about the meaning of penitence, the penitential acts, and also the role of the confessor. These three aspects will now be explained in more detail.

The meaning of penitence is explained anew in relation to each vice. This is designed to prevent the possibility that penance becomes a routine. Instead, it should always be consciously performed. The addressee is one who has determined, following self-examination, that he or she has been seduced by the respective vice. Additionally, this person is one who is prepared to alter current behaviors in order to avoid posthumous punishments.

The acts of penitence are often listed quite concisely; nevertheless, various aspects of penance are concealed within them. Fasting, prayers, and/or chastisements are cited as penitential acts in relation to almost all vices. These penances have a physical aspect: the disturbed order [of the cosmos] is supposed to be restored through worldly suffering, and posthumous suffering is also rendered superfluous in this manner.[67]

Occasionally, other penances are indicated, such as giving alms, adopting a monastic life, or withdrawing to the hermitage. The meaning of prayers, sighing, and tears as part of penance has already been discussed above (see notes 36, 38, 39, and 40).

Giving alms, an otherwise common act of penitence, appears in the *Vite mer.* only in the role of restitution. Those consumed with greed (*Auaritia*) are encouraged, for example, "to sincerely bestow their mercy upon the poor, whom they have deceived, insofar as they are able,"[68] in addition to fasting and corporal chastisement. Obviously, the *Vite mer.* seeks to avoid the possibility that the penitent might buy salvation through monetary offerings.

An additional act of penance that is suggested quite consciously at specific points is withdrawal to a hermitage. This appears to be one of the most stringent penances within the *Vite mer.* and is mentioned only three times; however, each time it is in connection with a particularly heinous act: murder motivated by greed, murder by means of poison, and

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suam secundum qualitatem et tenorem eorundem peccatorum suorum ieiuniis affligant, in quibus etiam pretiosum potum deuitent, secundum rectum iudicium iudicum suorum."

[67] See above, "The Relationship between the Disturbances to the Good Order, Purification, and Penance—the *Zelus Dei*."

[68] *Vite mer.*, 5.53, p. 251, ll. 1113–15: "et etiam pauperibus quos defraudauerunt, prout potuerint, misericordiam cum ueritate rependant."

the murder of a child.[69] In these cases, the very act of being alone and apart from society should be understood as part of the punishment. In particular, a mother who murders her child "should surrender herself for punishment in fear of solitude."[70]

At other points, the *Vite mer.* suggests that the penitent embark on a cloistered life in a monastery or nunnery. Thus, "people, whom the most wicked spirits want to banish into inconstancy, . . . if they currently lead a secular life, they should embark on a monastic life; if they currently lead a monastic life, they should withdraw to a more stringent solitude to cultivate truth through this conversion."[71] This clearly demonstrates the pedagogical aspect of penitential acts, as, in the ordered course of monastic life, an inconstant life would be scarcely possible.

The hermitage is also suggested as a penitential act for those suffering from melancholy (*Desperatio*), which is represented as one of the most serious of sins. In this case, however, the confessor also has the possibility of intervening and disposing the sufferer in a monastic setting.[72] In this case, the pastoral evaluation on the part of the confessor carries more weight. For those afflicted by the related vice of World-weariness (*Tristitia seculi*), the *Vite mer.* mandates that the penitents "should immerse themselves with unceasing zeal in those Scriptures which bring them closer to heavenly joy,"[73] a punishment designed to prevent them from sinking deeper into doubt. This case clearly demonstrates that penance is supposed to be useful to the person, not injurious.

The *Vite mer.* also considers the intention[74] of the sinner during the commission of the sin when determining the penitential acts imposed, a development in penitential theory spread primarily during the 12th century.[75]

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[69] This stands in contrast to the apparently less severe sins of murder through negligence, murder in self-defense, and murder in the heat of passion.

[70] *Vite mer.*, 1.115, p. 62, ll. 1790–94: "Ille quoque que infantes de se natos morti subiecerint, et ita plus quam bestialiter peccauerint, ut damnationem mortis euadant, acerrimis ieiuniis et diris uerberibus ac asperitate uestium in solitudinis angustia se puniant, quatinus in futura uita remedium saluationis inueniant."

[71] Ibid., 4.55, p. 207, ll. 1166–70: "Homines autem qui pessimos spiritus ad inconstantiam eos exhortantes de se uoluerint fugare . . . si seculares sunt, ad spiritalem uitam se colligant; uel si spiritales sunt, in eadem conuersatione sua cum omni disciplina ueritatis acrius se solito coerceant."

[72] Ibid., 2.77, p. 115, ll. 1508–10: "aut solitariam uitam arripiant, aut obedientie monasterialis conuersationis se subiciant."

[73] Ibid., 5.63, p. 254, ll. 1205–06: "ac Scripturas illas, que celeste gaudium eis inferant, frequenti studio ruminent."

[74] Ibid., 5.69, p. 255, l. 1251: "qua intentione peracta sint."

[75] See Angenendt, *Religiosität*, pp. 644–46.

Evidence for this appears in the penances exacted for killing another person, in which the text distinguishes between murder caused by greed, killing in self-defense, and killing a person through negligence. In the latter case it states:

> If a person, who has caused another to die through ignorance, desires to evade the named torments and wishes to escape them, he should fast according to the law; however the fast should be shorter or more lenient because his will was not active in this sin.[76]

The killer must perform penance; however, the extent of the penance should be milder because the sinner had no intention of sinning.

The search for the correct degree of chastisement stands at the center of the instructions for penitential acts. The goal for the penitent is primarily a change in the way this person acts and thinks, in addition to the quite necessary purification. In this manner, the *Vite mer.* appears to distance itself from Hildegard's guardian and teacher, Jutta of Sponheim. We know that Jutta imposed penances upon herself that sometimes assumed self-destructive forms.[77]

In general, the *Vite mer.* does not provide any indication as to the scope of the penitential acts. That said, the penitent should not perform self-imposed penances, but should instead trust in the judgement of a priest whose task it is to evaluate the measure of penance.

The priest or confessor is referred to by various terms in the *Vite mer.*, primarily as judge (*judex*) or teacher (*rector*), often as the presiding

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[76] *Vite mer.*, 1.112, p. 61, ll. 1776–79: "Quod si et ille qui hominem ignoranter in mortem misit prefatos cruciatus abhorruerit, et eis abesse optauerit: ieiunia, sed tamen breuiata et alleuiata, secundum iustitiam sibi componat, quoniam uoluntas eius eidem peccato non astitit."

[77] Franz Staab, ed., "Vita domnae Juttae inclusae," in *Reformidee und Reformpolitik im spätsalisch-frühstaufischen Reich. Vorträge zur Tagung der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte vom 11. bis 13. September 1991 in Trier*, eds. Stefan Weinfurter and Hubertus Seibert, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 68 (Mainz, 1992), pp. 172–87, at pp. 177–78: "Inter alia siquidem genera, quibus diros cruciatus uel uulnera corpori suo inflixit, cilicium et catenam ferream per quae pridem membra domare iuuenilia consueuit, ab ipso inclusionis suae tempore ad carnem inducta usque ad finem uitae in usu habuit, nisi praecipua festiuitate aut graui infirmitate ingruente. praecepto maiorum cogeretur ab hiis abstinere." Prayer practices could also damage her health, since in winter she often spent extended periods of time in prayer standing barefoot or kneeling, as a result of which she apparently became seriously ill, "Vita domnae Juttae," 5, p. 179: "multotiens stans erecta, uel supra genua inclinata crebra compleuit psalteria. Nonnumquam uero huic operi nudis pedibus solebat uacare durissima instante hieme, ita ut ex hoc labore graui afficeretur languore."

teacher or judge (*presidens rector, presidens iudex*).[78] The latter terms explicitly indicate that the priest has a representative function: during confession, he is the mouthpiece of God, in that "a person reveals his sins to God through the ear of his priest."[79] When the priest imposes penance, he stands in place of Christ in judgement.[80]

The presiding master's (*magister*) responsibility in this task is so great that it is accorded a separate section at the end of part five.[81]

> The master should reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of the soul and the character of his subordinates as well as the character of their sins, and consider exactly to what extent they were seduced. And he should assist each penitent according to the intention of the sinner's aptitude and according to the degree of the sin and according to the type of penance.[82]

The master should distinguish between the "hardened and rough" (*duris et asperis*), for whom the scourge should be kept in readiness (in order to drive out the strong self-will), and those for whom "a small light is sufficient to provide full illumination." The latter are in danger of being "entirely extinguished" if they are addressed too harshly, and thus they should be treated gently.[83] In particular, those who have sinned grievously are most deserving of assistance during penance. This follows the guidelines of the Benedictine Rule, which encourages all to hate vices (*vitia*) but to love the brothers.[84] The Benedictine Rule's guidance for abbots stands as a background for this entire section about masters.[85]

Even when the master determines the measure of penance, this act is always described in an active manner, in that the penitent imposes the penance. This explicitly emphasizes that the penitent undertakes the penance of his or her own volition. This is thus a conscious decision, as

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[78] *iudex*: *Vite mer.*, 1.88, p. 54: "iudicum suorum"; more often *presidens iudex*: 1.84, p. 52: "presidentis sibi iudicis"; 1.122, p. 64: "sibi presidentis iudicis"; *rector*, 1.107, p. 60: "suarum rectore"; more often *presidens rector*: 4.51, p. 205, 4.58, p. 208, 5.41, p. 246: "sibi presidentis rectoris"; *praeceptor*: 2.58, p. 106: "preceptoris sui"; *ductor*: 1.95, p. 56: "ductoris sui"; *prelatus*: 1.92, p. 55: "prelate sibi"; 3.58, p. 160: "prelatis suis."

[79] *Vite mer.*, 5.76, p. 257, l. 1298: "homo peccata sua per aurem sacerdotis Deo manifestat."

[80] Ibid., 1.79, p. 49, ll. 1364–65: "Iudex autem iste sacerdos in uice eiusdem Filii mei est."

[81] Ibid., 5.69–74, pp. 255–57.

[82] Ibid., 5.69, p. 255, ll. 1249–53: "Magister autem animarum fortitudinem et imbecillitatem ac qualitatem subditorum suorum et qualitatem peccatorum eorum considerabit, et etiam qua intentione peracta sint perspiciet; et unicuique penitenti iuxta considerationem nature ipsius, et iuxta modum peccati, ac iuxta modum penitentie astabit."

[83] Ibid., 5.70, p. 256, ll. 158–60: "Ad illos autem qui cum paruo lumine lucent, cum lenitate loquatur: quia si eos cum acerbitate circumdare uoluerit, omnino extinguentur."

[84] Timothy Fry, ed., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, Minn., 1981), 64.11, pp. 282–83.

[85] *The Rule of St. Benedict*, chapter 2.23–25, pp. 174–75; 2.28, pp. 176–77; 2.32, pp. 176–77.

the correct attitude towards penance is of the highest importance. Therefore, in some of the catalogues of penances, the meaning of the individual penitential acts is cited in reference to the vice.

> This is namely the fight against pride: The penitential clothing prevents the spirit's presumption from raising itself above others; kneeling provokes the spirit to sighs; the blows from the rods direct pride back into its box; sighs injure pride and tears drown it. That is, a sigh sees God, and tears acknowledge him. In this way, pride must be suppressed.[86]

Penance, imposed at the correct measure and performed consciously, with internally cognitive participation on the part of the sinner, is the main issue and pivotal point of the *Vite mer.*, toward which all other sections are directed. Yet we must ask: Was the text ever read by a penitent person?

Who Were the First Readers of the Liber vite meritorum?

The *Vite mer.* is addressed to readers who want to perform penance and who live in a monastic setting. The latter can be determined from numerous minor references, such as the choice of the monastic life as a form of penance, the many vices representing worldly joys who are opposed by monastically oriented virtues, or the high rank of virgins in the heavenly hierarchy. However, did the group addressed by the *Vite mer.* actually read the text?

In the case of the *Vite mer.*, modern scholars are in the happy position that we have witnesses about the first readers. Guibert of Gembloux, who had visited Hildegard at the Rupertsberg and had remained on as her personal secretary, wrote in a letter to the Rupertsberg nuns:

> The *Liber vitae meritorum*, which was put forth by your holy mother herself, and which was sent to us through your love, we hold in a most worthy state of honor; we regard its worth with great admiration, and, through the reading of collations [from the *Vite mer.*], the monks of Villers are fed in the best manner at the table and we are divinely quenched due to its astonishing teaching.[87]

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[86] *Vite mer.*, 3.48, p. 156, ll. 1117–23: "Hec enim pugna contra superbiam est. Cilicium quippe elationem mentis insurgere prohibet, flexio quoque genuum ad suspiria animum instigat, uerbera etiam superbiam constringunt, suspiria eam uulnerant, et lacrime illam submergunt. Suspirium quippe Deum uidet, lacrima autem ipsum confitetur. Sic superbia comprimenda est."

[87] Guibert Gemblacensis, *Epistolae*, ed. Albert Derolez, CCCM 66 (Turnhout, 1989), 23, p. 253: "Librum meritorum uite, ab ipsa sancta matre uestra editum et a caritate uestra

The Benedictine Rule prescribes that texts be read aloud; in Villers, the *Vite mer.* was read during meals, and in Gembloux this reading would have been prior to compline. This serves as evidence that the *Vite mer.* actually found its monastic audience, and also demonstrates the significance placed upon it by the monks from Gembloux and Villers. This becomes especially clear when one considers that the Benedictine Rule dictates that the table readings should be taken from texts by the Church Fathers on the subject of monastic life.[88]

Another extant manuscript includes, in parts, the punctuation that the Cistercians typically used for texts to be read aloud. From this fact we can conclude that this manuscript was also used for reading within a monastic environment.[89] This manuscript had been owned by the Premonstratensian monastery of St Maria in Rommersdorf near Neuwied. The Benedictine monastery of St Jacob in Mainz owned another copy of the *Vite mer.*[90]

Since the nuns of the Rupertsberg copied this text,[91] one could assume that they were also among the first readers and hearers of the *Vite mer.*

Benedictines, Cistercians, Premonstratensians. These were the circles in which the *Vite mer.* was read, and if one believes another of Guibert's statements, it was actually used by some readers as an inducement for self-examination: "That, which was said in this book, was given to you by God for the correction of readers and listeners."[92]

The Narrative Psychology of the Vite mer.

Over the course of this article it has been demonstrated that the structure of the *Vite mer.* is uniformly directed towards penance in spite of its various textual elements. Moreover, members of monastic communities

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nobis transmissum, debite uenerationis affectu suscepimus, summa ammiratione dignum ducimus, cuius mirifica doctrina et Villarenses primo ad mensam suam optime saginati sunt, et nos modo ad lectionem collationum delectabiliter potamur."

[88] On reading at meal times, see *The Rule of St. Benedict*, 38, pp. 236–38.

[89] The manuscript is presently in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Codex 1016 (theol. 382), see *Vite mer.*, p. LIV.

[90] Michael Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 146–47.

[91] See Guibert's letter above, cited in note 87.

[92] Guibert of Gembloux, *Epistolae*, 21, p. 247, "que in eodem libro dicta sunt, ad correctionem legentium uel audientium benigna tibi pietate inspirauit." See Walburga Storch, OSB, *Hildegard von Bingen, Im Feuer der Taube. Die Briefe* (Augsburg, 1997), p. 232, and *Vite mer.*, p. XIII.

constituted the first audiences for the work outside Rupertsberg (where Hildegard's nuns naturally heard and copied the text as its primary audience), and these other religious communities also used the text for self-examination. In the conclusion to this article, I would like to summarize the means through which a composition of a highly interesting, narrative-psychological nature is created in the *Vite mer.* through the artful interplay of image and explication, dogmatic explanation, and literal discourse on the part of the vices.

Two psychological threads run through the *Vite mer.* text: one static, one evolving. The static line appears in each section: new virtues and vices are presented, and the punishments in the place of purification are presented dramatically, followed by the acts of penance, which challenge the reader to act. This unchanging pattern contrasts with the development of theological topoi, which unfold as follows: The battle between good and evil, and the necessity of this fight, is introduced; God and Christ are presented in their majestic and sovereign function so that their superiority to the devil cannot be questioned. At this point, humanity's role in the cosmos is explained: humans are a part of a greater whole that was wondrously created. Humankind is responsible for the other creatures, and humanity's sins prevent the rest of creation from fulfilling their tasks. Each human being is granted the possibility of deciding whether to follow the path of good or evil. This decision cannot succeed without God's assistance, which is granted over and over again because God is compassionate and merciful and finds joy in the forgiveness of sins. God established baptism and penance so that the possibility for redemption and purification is available to humanity at all times. In the beginning, the God of power and might appears; at the end, we find the God of compassion.

Only after all of this has been narrated do we come to the events of the Last Judgement, during which the ultimate purification takes place. Only now is the true measure of the horrors of hell described, and then only from an outside perspective. Only now does the complete opposition between good and evil unfold, because the visions of heavenly joys appear as the goal towards which all human endeavors strive in this mortal life. If one considers the representation of the blessed, who await their release and their salvation and who speak in the first two parts of the text, then one can consider the work to be framed by the depiction of heavenly joys.

The images and structure of the *Vite mer.* reflect the development of the narrative. The static line is drawn through repetition in the various sections. These repetitions appear within the images, primarily in the fog

(vices) and in the darkness (locus of purification and hell), and each time they appear anew as a small detail of the larger picture. The narrative becomes animated as the vices speak and even move around a bit. There is even movement within the purifying punishment; however, these are limited motions that do not extend beyond the space granted them.

The flow of the narrative, which changes over the course of the text, follows the Man in the Cosmos from top to bottom, from his head in heaven to his feet above the abyss. The thematic development from the heavenly to the earthly, from God in majesty to the merciful God, corresponds to this image.

The only section with unlimited movement appears at the end, in part six, as the events of the Last Days are depicted. The text describes how the Man in the Cosmos rotates with the entire earth.[93] Yet even here, the movement takes place within the framework of the image, within the cosmos.

The anchoring of themes to a single image results in a text in which the reader can mark and learn individual themes according to the elements of the image. Readers can replay the relationships literally before their eyes. The "systematic theology presented within an image"[94] thus has pedagogical dimensions. There is no question that the *Vite mer.* contains a "*Summa theologiae* in an image."

In all of Hildegard's visionary works, the entirety of theology remains constantly in view. However, each of the three visionary texts has a different focus on this whole. Even the call to conversion and penance, which appears in all three works, has different characteristics in each. The *Vite mer.*, as a sermon calling for repentance in a theologically comprehensive image, is certainly the text that addresses individual believers most strongly, in that each individual is called upon to perform self-examination and personal penance. Yet, the idiosyncrasy in Hildegard's theology remains apparent: the completely personal battle for faith plays out, even here, within the greater cosmic relationship of the battle between God and the devil, and is organized according to the scheme of salvation history.

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[93] *Vite mer.*, 6.3, p. 265.

[94] Ulrich, "Vision," p. 25: "ins Bild gesetzte systematische Theologie."

THE MEDICAL, THE MAGICAL, AND THE MIRACULOUS IN THE HEALING ARTS OF HILDEGARD OF BINGEN

Debra L. Stoudt

The recent publication of critical editions, translations, and studies of Hildegard's lesser-known works, the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure*, has brought renewed attention to these natural sciences and medical writings.[1] Given the associations in Hildegard's world and in her personal life between the scientific and the spiritual, between the cure of the body and the care of the soul, it should not be surprising that works on such topics are considered to be part of her oeuvre. Indeed, the prevalent image of Hildegard today is that of a 12th-century renaissance woman with varied interests and expertise, and it has become common practice for collections of essays about the Benedictine nun to include medicine and healing as integral parts of her life experiences and her theology.[2]

Despite her cloistered status, Hildegard was inextricably bound to the secular world as a result of her prophetic abilities and her role as adviser to political leaders and religious communities.[3] The *magistra*'s own travels as well as visits to the Rupertsberg community by clerics who possessed or had access to substantial libraries may well have provided her the opportunity and the resources to become acquainted with contemporaneous knowledge, theories, beliefs, and practices regarding the healing arts; these may have complemented her firsthand experiences as a healer within the walls of her religious community.

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[1] The relationship between Hildegard's theological and natural sciences writings is explored explicitly by Benedikt Conrad Vollmann, "Hildegard von Bingen: Theologische versus naturkundliche Schriften?" *Geistliche Aspekte mittelalterlicher Naturlehre: Symposion 30. November–2. Dezember 1990*, ed. Vollmann, Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter 15 (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 40–47 and 128–31; it is referenced as part of broader discussions in many of the works cited below.

[2] Among such collections are: Anton P. Bruck, ed., *Hildegard von Bingen, 1179–1979: Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen* (Mainz, 1979); Edeltraud Forster, ed., *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten* (Freiburg, 1997); Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke, eds., *Context*; Maud Burnett McInerney, ed., *Hildegard of Bingen: A Book of Essays* (New York, 1998); Barbara Newman, ed., *Voice*; and Alfred Haverkamp, ed., *Umfeld*.

[3] See *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 48–57.

Translations of texts, particularly Greek and Arabic works of philosophy and science, profoundly advanced medical knowledge during Hildegard's lifetime. Although scholasticism, grounded as it is in empiricism, became a dominant method over the course of the 12th century within the world of the universities and intellectuals,[4] the unnatural or supernatural realms still held sway in medieval society. In her discussion about the contents of the *Cause et cure* in *Sister of Wisdom*, Barbara Newman asserts that for Hildegard "[t]here are no clear lines of demarcation between medical, magical, and miraculous ways of healing."[5] This statement raises provocative questions about the nature of healing not only in the *magistra*'s natural sciences writings but also in the rest of her oeuvre, which contains frequent allusions to sickness and health—both of the body and the spirit. This essay introduces these three traditions and describes the two scientific-medical works alluded to above; it then examines how Hildegard characterizes the medical, the magical, and the miraculous, and how she interweaves them in her theological and scientific writings.

The inherent connection between religion and medicine in Western Europe was especially apparent during the era of monastic medicine, from the 7th to the mid 11th century. Religious communities served as repositories for medical knowledge, and religious men and women functioned as practitioners of the healing arts for those inside and outside their communities. Such arts included remedies derived from plants found in the herbal or infirmary garden, special diet, surgical procedures, the application of amulets, and the uttering of formulaic words, often with religious overtones—cures representative of the natural and unnatural realms.[6] With the introduction of scholastic ideas, however, monastic medicine

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[4] For a discussion of Hildegard's relationship to the scholastic world of the 12th century, see Justin A. Stover's essay in this volume, pp. 109–35.

[5] Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom*: *St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine*, rev. ed. (Berkeley, 1997), p. 149. Laurence Moulinier examines the relationship of magic, medicine, and the *cura animarum* in Hildegard's medical-scientific works in "Magie, médecine et maux de l'âme dans l'oeuvre scientifique de Hildegard," in *Angesicht*, pp. 545–59. Peregrine Horden provides a useful discussion of medicine, magic, and religion in the broader context of the medieval healing arts, "Sickness and Healing," *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100*, eds. Thomas F.X. Noble, Julia M.H. Smith, and Roberta A. Baranowski (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 416–32.

[6] A useful introduction to the topic of medieval medicine is Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine. An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, 1990). Various sections of the text edited by Faith Wallis, *Medieval Medicine: A Reader* (Toronto, 2010), are also relevant.

diminished in importance. Encyclopedic works, such as *The Canon of Medicine* by Avicenna (980–1037), were translated into Latin. Greek medical texts were reclaimed from obscurity, and the contributions of Islamic medicine were discovered as contact with the Arabic world increased.

Medicine became the domain of the newly established European universities beginning in the second half of the 12th century. Nonetheless, the leading monastic order of the time, the Benedictines, maintained its tradition of medical study and practice.[7] Scholars have suggested a connection between the medical school at Salerno and the monastery at Monte Cassino, and the subsequent transmission of medical manuscripts from Italy to other Benedictine communities throughout Europe.[8] The separation between the spiritual healer, the *Seelenarzt*, and the healer of the body, the *Leibarzt*, began to manifest itself more clearly, as first monks and canons, and then secular clergy, were forbidden to leave the monastery to study medicine. Even in the face of such prohibitions, religious men and women continued to care for the sick until the licensing of physicians became a commonplace.

Despite the introduction of a more scientific approach to medicine, traditional belief in the magical and the miraculous continued throughout the Middle Ages. The art of magic was associated with *magi*, sorcerers, or magicians, individuals who already in biblical and classical times were identified as those who consorted with demons.[9] Those engaging in such supernatural practices often do so for personal gain or to achieve their own purposes, good or bad. Miracles traditionally have been associated with events considered to be wonderful, wondrous, or marvelous (*mira*). They evoke awe and have positive outcomes—hence, their association with benevolent supernatural powers and the divine. Because miracles are seen to represent divine intervention or will, the agents who carry them out—the elect and the saints—may be assumed to enjoy a special relationship to the Divine.[10]

Within the Christian tradition, there have been numerous attempts to differentiate as well as to reconcile the magical and the miraculous.

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[7] Odilo Engels, "Die Zeit der Heiligen Hildegard," in *Hildegard von Bingen 1179–1979. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen*, p. 20.

[8] *Hildegard von Bingen: Ursachen und Behandlung der Krankheiten (Causae et curae)*, trans. Hugo Schultz, 4th ed. (Heidelberg, 1983), p. 9.

[9] With regard to the Classical tradition, the "Twelve Tables" of early Roman law condemned practitioners of *maleficium* to death; Cicero, *De legibus*, 3.11, 44.

[10] Caroline Walker Bynum explores this topic in "Wonder," *The American Historical Review* 102.1 (1997): 1–26.

St Augustine (354–430) claimed that, because the initial creation was a miracle, all that was within creation continued to be miraculous; however, since it became mundane to humankind, it was not viewed with the same awe as events that surpassed the routine, the *supra naturam*.[11] Scholastics such as Peter Abelard (1079–1142) and St Thomas Aquinas (1225/1227–1274) were particularly concerned with the interrelationship between natural magic, miracles, and demonic forces.[12] Aquinas held that a true miracle was an event or act that humans could only understand through supernatural revelation.[13] The scholastics conceded, however, that acts of natural magic were subject to manipulation by both divine and diabolical entities.

Whether an act or event is deemed magical or miraculous depends in part on the individuals involved, as well as on those who report or record it. As Benedicta Ward notes: "'Magic' was . . . the accusation passed on miracles not acceptable to another party. The miracles of heretics are condemned as magic."[14] In designating an act as magic or miracle, the perceived orthodoxy of the individual involved may be of greater significance than the act itself.

Along with medicines, surgery, and diet—the three types of treatment identified in the *Etymologiae* of St Isidore of Seville (*c.*560–636)—charms, amulets, and ritual healing remained commonplace as means to care for and cure the sick throughout the Middle Ages. Reflexes of all of these methods are referenced among Hildegard's healing arts.

The *Acta inquisitionis de virtutibus et miraculis sanctae Hildegardis*, prepared in 1233 in support of Hildegard's canonization, refers to two medical works by her, the *Liber simplicis medicinae* (*Book of Simple Medicine*), and the *Liber compositae medicinae* (*Book of Composite Medicine*);[15] however, no manuscripts with these titles are extant.[16] Today the former work is

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[11] Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event 1000–1215*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 3–4.

[12] Noel L. Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology: A Chapter in the Controversy over Occult Studies in Early Modern Europe* (Albany, 1999), pp. 17–27, offers a fine summary of the assertions made about magic and miracles by medieval religious.

[13] Brann, *Trithemius*, p. 21.

[14] Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, p. 12.

[15] *Acta inquisitionis de virtutibus et miraculis sanctae Hildegardis*, eds. Charles Daremberg and F. A. Reuss, PL 197:139. Henceforth referred to as *Acta inquisitionis*.

[16] Regarding the manuscripts of Hildegard's medical and scientific works, see also Michael Embach's essay in this volume, pp. 273–304, especially pp. 298–300.

identified with the *Physica* and the latter with the *Cause et cure*.[17] Hildegard probably began work on a medical text in the 1150s, after completion of her first visionary work, the *Scivias*.[18] In the prologue of the *Liber vite meritorum*, the second of her three visionary works, she mentions a vision she had experienced the year before that had shown her "the simplicity of the various natural creatures";[19] from this allusion is derived the title *Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum* (*Book on the Subtleties of the Different Natures of Created Things*), currently used by some scholars for the *Physica.* Despite this reference, the claim of divine inspiration for either the *Physica* or the *Cause et cure* has enjoyed little support.

The 1983 discovery of a Florentine manuscript of the *Physica* resulted in two critical editions. The edition by Irmgard Müller and Christian Schulze, which appeared in 2008, features a comparison to the *Patrologia Latina* edition of the text on the facing page;[20] that published by Reiner Hildebrandt and Thomas Gloning two years later includes the Berlin fragment as an appendix and provides a second volume consisting of textual variants.[21] The *Physica* text is extant in fewer than a dozen manuscripts, the one in Florence being the oldest and most complete.[22] The title, *Physica*, first

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[17] Reiner Hildebrandt casts doubt on the connection of the *Cause et cure* with the *Liber compositae medicinae* in "Hildegard von Bingen—16 Jahre nach der Entdeckung der Florentiner 'Physica'—Handschrift," in *Sprachgeschichte—Dialektologie—Onomastik—Volkskunde. Beiträge zum Kolloquium am 3./4. Dezember 1999 an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz Wolfgang Kleiber zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Rudolf Bentzinger, Damaris Nübling, and Rudolf Steffens (Stuttgart, 2001), p. 46.

[18] Victoria Sweet argues for a somewhat earlier chronology in *Rooted in the Earth, Rooted in the Sky: Hildegard of Bingen and Premodern Medicine*, Studies in Medieval History and Culture (New York, 2006), pp. 47 and 131.

[19] Hildegard of Bingen, *The Book of the Rewards of Life (Liber Vitae Meritorum)*, trans. Bruce W. Hozeski (New York, 1994), p. 9; *Vite mer.*, p. 8.

[20] *Hildegard von Bingen: Physica: Edition der Florentiner Handschrift (Cod. Laur. Ashb. 1323, ca. 1300) im Vergleich mit der Textkonstitution der Patrologia latina (Migne)*, eds. Irmgard Müller and Christian Schulze (Hildesheim, 2008).

[21] Hildegard von Bingen, *Physica. Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum. Textkritische Ausgabe*, eds. Reiner Hildebrandt and Thomas Gloning, 2 vols. (Berlin, 2010). Citations in this essay are from the first volume of this edition. The "Berliner fragment" (Codex Berolinensis) is in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Lat. Qu. 674, fols 104r–116r.

[22] *Physica: Edition der Florentiner Handschrift*, pp. XI–XII, provides a useful overview of the manuscripts and editions. *Physica. Liber subtilitatum*, 1, pp. 14–21, presents a slightly different set of manuscripts; they include the 1533 print edition by Johannes Schott as well as the Augsburg manuscript but omit four manuscripts containing only fragments. Irmgard Müller discusses the significance of the Florence manuscript at length in "Die Bedeutung der lateinischen Handschrift Ms. laur. Ashb. 1323 (Florenz, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana) für die Rekonstruktion der 'Physica' Hildegard von Bingen und ihre Lehre von den natürlichen Wirkkräften," in *Umfeld*, pp. 421–40.

appeared in the print edition of 1533; the work was included in Migne's collection of Hildegard's works in 1855.[23]

Cause et cure is an abbreviation of *Liber compositae medicinae aegritudinum causis, signis atque curis*, the title of the excerpted edition by Jean Baptiste Pitra in the *Analecta Sacra*.[24] The complete work survives in only one manuscript, discovered in the Royal Library at Copenhagen in 1859. Paul Kaiser prepared the first comprehensive edition in 1903;[25] Laurence Moulinier and Rainer Berndt published the first critical edition exactly 100 years later.[26]

Translations in German, English, and French preceded the critical editions of both the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure*.[27] In addition, a few monographs that focused on Hildegard's medical and scientific works appeared in the 1990s, due in part to a resurgence of interest in herbal remedies and

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[23] *Physica S. Hildegardis elementorum fluminum aliquot Germaniæ, metallorum, leguminum, fructuum, & herbarum: arborum, & arbustorum: piscium deniq[ue], volatilium, & animantium terræ naturas & operationes: IIII libris mirabili experientia posteritati tradens: Oribasij medici De simplicibus libri quinque: Theodori physici Dieta, docens quibusnam salubriter utendum, uel abstinendum: Esculapij liber vnus, De morborum, infirmitatum, passionumq[ue] corporis humani caussis, descriptionibus, & cura.* (Strassburg, 1533); and *Physica, cujus titulus ex cod. Ms.: Subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum*, eds. Charles Daremberg and F.A. Reuss, PL 197: 1117–1352.

[24] *Analecta sanctae Hildegardis opera Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, Analecta sacra 8 (Monte Cassino, 1882), pp. 468–82.

[25] *Hildegardis Causae et curae*, ed. Paul Kaiser, Bibliotheca scriptorum medii aevi Teubneriana. Script. lat. (Leipzig, 1903).

[26] *Beate Hildegardis Cause et cure*, eds. Laurence Moulinier and Rainer Berndt, Rarissima mediaevalia Opera latina 1 (Berlin, 2003).

[27] For the *Physica*, Peter Riethe provides an abbreviated German translation: *Naturkunde: Das Buch von dem inneren Wesen der verschiedenen Naturen in der Schöpfung*, 4th ed. (Salzburg, 1989); Marie-Louise Portmann offers the complete work in German: *Heilkraft der Natur: "Physica," das Buch von dem inneren Wesen der verschiedenen Naturen der Geschöpfe; erste vollständige, wortgetreue und textkritische Übersetzung, bei der alle Handschriften berücksichtigt sind* (Freiburg, 1991). All nine books are published in English as *Hildegard von Bingen's Physica: The Complete English Translation of Her Classic Work on Health and Healing*, trans. Priscilla Throop (Rochester, Vt., 1998). The complete French translation, *Le livre des subtilités des créatures divines: physique*, is the work of Pierre Monat and Claude Mettra (Grenoble, 1988 and 1996).

The two most widely cited German translations of the *Cause et cure* are: *Heilkunde. Das Buch von dem Grund und Wesen und der Heilung der Krankheiten*, trans. Heinrich Schipperges (Salzburg, 1957), and *Heilwissen. Von den Ursachen und der Behandlung von Krankheiten*, trans. and ed. Manfred Pawlik, 3rd ed. (Freiburg, 1994). Pawlik's work was translated into Spanish as *El arte de sanar de santa Hildegard* (Girona, 1997) and also served as the basis for the English translation *Holistic Healing*, ed. Mary Palmquist and John S. Kulas; trans. Patrick Madigan (Collegeville, Minn., 1994). Excerpts have appeared in *On Natural Philosophy and Medicine: Selections from* Cause et cure, trans. Margret Berger (Cambridge, 1999). Pierre Monat prepared the French translation, *Les causes et les remèdes* (Grenoble, 1997 and 2007).

holistic medicine.[28] The useful introduction in Part I of Sue Spencer Cannon's study, "The Medicine of Hildegard of Bingen: Her Twelfth-Century Theories and Their Twentieth-Century Appeal as a Form of Alternative Medicine,"[29] is supplemented in Part II by a detailed examination of the pathology of the humors in general, followed by specifics regarding Hildegard's understanding of it; the work concludes with a discussion of alternative and New Age medicine, as well as the *Hildegard-Medizin* of Gottfried Hertzka.[30] Drawing on decades of research, the medical historian Heinrich Schipperges relates the *magistra*'s medical views to her worldview in *Hildegard of Bingen: Healing and the Nature of the Cosmos*.[31] In *Rooted in the Earth, Rooted in the Sky: Hildegard of Bingen and Premodern Medicine*,[32] Victoria Sweet adopts an anthropological approach, grounding the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* firmly in the natural world. Sweet provides extensive commentary on the elements and the humors, but her focus is on Hildegard as medical practitioner and the *Cause et cure* as a resource for both practical and theoretical purposes, based upon the Benedictine's own experiences. The sources for and reception of the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* also have received extensive scrutiny and

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[28] Preceding the works noted here are numerous articles and a few monographs, primarily in German, that contributed to the awakening of interest in Hildegard's medicine. In addition to the sources referenced elsewhere in this essay, the following deserve mention: Hermann Fischer, *Die heilige Hildegard von Bingen. Die erste deutsche Naturforscherin und Ärztin. Ihr Leben und Werk*, Münchener Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin 7/8 (Munich, 1927); Gerhard Baader, "Naturwissenschaft und Medizin im 12. Jahrhundert und Hildegard von Bingen," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 31 (1979): 33–54; Irmgard Müller, "Krankheit und Heilmittel im Werk Hildegards von Bingen," in *Hildegard von Bingen 1179–1979. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen*, pp. 311–49; and Joan Cadden, "It Takes All Kinds: Sexuality and Gender Differences in Hildegard of Bingen's *Book of Compound Medicine*," *Traditio* 40 (1984): 149–74.

[29] Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of California, Los Angeles, 1993).

[30] A medical doctor, Gottfried Hertzka (d. 1997), defended the view that Hildegard's medical works were the result of visionary experiences in *So heilt Gott. Die Medizin der hl. Hildegard von Bingen als neues Naturheilverfahren* (1970; Stein am Rhein, 2006). He also advocated the use of Hildegard's remedies to treat illnesses today; see *Handbuch der Hildegard-Medizin* (Stein am Rhein, 1987).

[31] Trans. John A. Broadwin (Princeton, 1997). Several other works on this topic by Schipperges should be noted as well: "Menschenkunde und Heilkunst bei Hildegard von Bingen," in *Hildegard von Bingen, 1179–1979: Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen*, pp. 295–310; "Heil und Heilkunst: Hildegards Entwurf einer ganzheitlichen Lebensordnung," in *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten*, pp. 458–65; and *The World of Hildegard of Bingen: Her Life, Times, and Visions*, trans. John Cumming (Collegeville, Minn., 1998), pp. 93–122.

[32] New York, 2006.

are useful in identifying elements unique to Hildegard as well as in understanding the traditional medical lore of the Middle Ages.[33]

The question of authorship remains a thorny issue: Charles Singer's designation of the works as spurious has been superseded by a cautious acceptance of the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* as part of Hildegard's corpus, with general agreement that they are based on a text prepared by the *magistra*.[34] Hildebrandt suggests that the original by Hildegard consisted of two columns of text: the foundational text (*Grundtext*) and the additional text (*Zusatztext*); he identifies the former as the *Liber simplicis medicinae* and the latter as the *Liber compositae medicinae*.[35] Recent scholarship has demonstrated that the extant manuscripts of the *Physica* and the *Cause*

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[33] Among discussions of sources are Laurence Moulinier, *Le manuscript perdu à Strasbourg. Enquête sur l'oeuvre scientifique de Hildegarde* (Paris, 1995), pp. 205–43; Reiner Hildebrandt, "Summarium Heinrici, das Lehrbuch der Hildegard von Bingen," in *Stand und Aufgaben der deutschen Dialektlexikographie, II. Brüder-Grimm-Symposion zur Historischen Wortforschung. Beiträge zu der Marburger Tagung vom Oktober 1992*, eds. Ernst Bremer and Reiner Hildebrandt (Berlin, 1996), pp. 89–110; Laurence Moulinier, "Ein Präzedenzfall der Kompendien-Literatur: Die Quellen der natur- und heilkundlichen Schriften Hildegards von Bingen," in *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten*, pp. 431–47; and Peter Riethe, "Zur Quellengeschichte des 'Steinkatalogs' der Hildegard von Bingen: Die Abhängigkeit des IV. Buches der Brüsseler Handschrift von Bartholomaeus Anglicus," *Scriptorium* 64 (2010): 95–108. Notable reception studies include Melitta Weiss-Amer [Weiss Adamson], "Die 'Physica' Hildegards von Bingen als Quelle für das 'Kochbuch Meister Eberhards,'" *Sudhoffs Archiv* 76 (1992): 87–96; Barbara Fehringer, *Das 'Speyerer Kräuterbuch' mit den Heilpflanzen Hildegards von Bingen. Eine Studie zur mittelhochdeutschen 'Physica'-Rezeption mit kritischer Ausgabe des Textes* (Würzburg, 1994); Melitta Weiss Adamson, "A Reevaluation of Saint Hildegard's *Physica* in Light of the Latest Manuscript Finds," in *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine. A Book of Essays*, ed. Margaret R. Schleissner, Garland Medieval Casebooks 8 (New York, 1995), pp. 55–80. Of note as well are several comparative studies: Annette Müller, *Krankheitsbilder im Liber de plantis der Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179) und im Speyerer Kräuterbuch (1456): Ein Beitrag zur medizinisch-pharmazeutischen Terminologie im Mittelalter* (Hürtgenwald, 1997); and Christine Mayer-Nicolai, *Arzneipflanzenindikationen gestern und heute: Hildegard von Bingen, Leonhart Fuchs und Hagers Handbuch im Vergleich* (Baden-Baden, 2010).

[34] Charles Singer, "The Scientific Views and Visions of Saint Hildegard (1098–1180)," *Studies in the History and Method of Science* (Oxford, 1917), especially pp. 12–15. Supplementing the discussion by Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter, *Die Echtheit des Schrifttums der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen: quellenkritische Untersuchungen* (Cologne, 1956), pp. 54–59, are those of Victoria Sweet, *Rooted in the Earth, Rooted in the Sky: Hildegard of Bingen and Premodern Medicine. Studies in Medieval History and Culture* (New York, 2006), pp. 36–49; Michael Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 287–99; and Laurence Moulinier, in the introduction to her critical edition, *Cause*, pp. XXX–LXII.

[35] *Physica*, pp. 5–10. In the introduction to her edition of the *Physica*, Müller also discusses the *Zusatztexte*, pp. XIX–XXIV.

et cure represent versions of the texts compiled after Hildegard's death.[36] Such a circumstance accounts for the different style in these two works compared to the rest of her writings; it also explains the overlap in content between the two medical-scientific works as well as the unusual—for Hildegard—organization of material in the sole *Cause et cure* manuscript. Undisputed, however, is the Hildegardian core of both texts.

As transmitted in the manuscripts, the *Physica* is composed of nine books, each of which describes the characteristics of selected things in the following categories of nature: plants, elements, trees, stones, fish, birds, animals, reptiles, and metals. The diseases that can be treated using the particular plant or tree are noted frequently as well, and in some cases specific remedies are suggested—the qualities of hot or cold, dry or moist play a significant role in almost every case.

Books 1 and 2 of the *Cause et cure* offer a description of the creation of the universe and of humankind from a scientific as well as a theological perspective. Book 2 focuses considerable attention on the elements and the humors, but also references an extensive catalogue of conditions and maladies, each of which is explained in considerable detail. This inventory continues in books 3 and 4, where remedies are offered; recent scholarship has identified substantial overlap with parts of the *Physica*.[37] Books 5 and 6 return to the theme of the cosmos, with an emphasis on astrology and prognostications.

In many ways the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* are typical of their day. Their content draws upon diverse sources: the folk medicine tradition as well as the writings of scholars such as Pedanius Dioscorides (40–90), Galen of Pergamon (*c.*130–*c.*200), and Constantine the African (*c.*1015–*c.*1087). The basis for Hildegard's characterization of disease is the concept of the humors, which are discussed at greatest length in book 2 of the *Cause et cure*. Cannon suggests that Hildegard prefers to follow Isidore of Seville by relating corporeal qualities and elements—heat and fire, breath and air, blood and water, flesh and earth—as opposed to the more typical alignment of humors with elements, as found in the writings of Hippocrates—yellow bile with fire, blood with air, phlegm with water, and black bile with earth.[38] She portrays Hildegard's humoral associations as "a theory

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[36] See Laurence Moulinier, "Hildegard ou Pseudo-Hildegard? Réflexions sur l'authenticité du traité 'Cause et cure,'" in *Angesicht*, pp. 115–46; and Moulinier, *Cause*, pp. LVII–LXIII.

[37] Moulinier, *Cause*, pp. XXX–XLII.

[38] Cannon, "The Medicine of Hildegard of Bingen," p. 88. Her assessment is based on *Cause*, 2, pp. 66–74.

of life,"[39] an identification that complements a fundamental Hildegardian concept of *viriditas*, greenness, the life-giving force central to her cosmology and her theology.[40] Despite some unusual theories and occasional unique remedies, much of what is written in the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* reflects norms and common beliefs from Hildegard's time regarding the causes of illnesses as well as recommended therapeutic measures: bloodletting, herbal remedies, the recitation of incantations, and the use of magic stones.[41] References in both works pertaining to regional flora and fauna, as well as the use of words in the German vernacular, suggest that the texts were not merely copied from other sources.[42] The details provided in the descriptions suggest that the author or compiler of these works had firsthand experience cultivating, gathering, and preparing some of the natural substances employed as remedies, and had personally observed individuals suffering from many of the maladies described.

The nature and extent of Hildegard's medical knowledge and experience are not known.[43] Before taking on the duties of *magistra*, she may have served as an infirmarian to members of her religious community as well as to its lay workers and their families; Disibodenberg had both an infirmary and a hospice.[44] Sweet hypothesizes that the nun served as *pigmentarius*, the individual responsible for the care and cure of the sick by gathering ingredients and preparing medicines.[45] The external sources from which Hildegard gleaned her medical knowledge have likewise not been determined. It is plausible, but unproven, that she received support from individuals who visited the Rupertsberg over the years; one such per-

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[39] Cannon, "The Medicine of Hildegard of Bingen," p. 89.

[40] Victoria Sweet, "Hildegard of Bingen and the Greening of Medieval Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 73.3 (1999): 381–403.

[41] Hildegard also discusses the magical properties of certain trees in the third book of the *Physica*. See the edition by Müller and Schulze, pp. 341–42, and the examples below.

[42] Regarding regional names, see Mayer-Nicolai, *Arzneipflanzenindikationen gestern und heute*, especially pp. 95–104. The German vocabulary in the *Physica* has been examined in detail: Dirk Schreiber, *Untersuchung zum deutschen Wortschatz in der "Physica" Hildegards von Bingen*, Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 68 (Giessen, 2002). The relationship of German and Latin in the same work is discussed by Reiner Hildebrandt, "Latein statt Deutsch in der 'Physica' Hildegards von Bingen als Reflex einer Kooperation mit ihrem Sekretär Volmar," in *Bausteine zu einer Geschichte des weiblichen Sprachgebrauchs VII*, ed. Gisela Brandt (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 5–16.

[43] Sweet, *Rooted in the Earth*, explores Hildegard's possible medical training, pp. 54–56.

[44] Sweet, *Rooted in the Earth*, p. 50. Florence Eliza Glaze, "Medical Writer: 'Behold the Human Creature,'" in *Voice*, pp. 126–27, describes how the Rupertsberg infirmary would have been outfitted.

[45] Sweet, *Rooted in the Earth*, pp. 60–63.

son was the Swedish bishop Siward of Uppsala, who served as head of the monastery at Rastede from 1142 to 1157 and whose impressive library may have allowed Hildegard to enhance her medical knowledge.[46] It also can be posited, but likewise not proven, that Hildegard could have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the latest theories regarding the healing arts as well as novel remedies from her own travels.

Hildegard's writings reflect not only the perspective of a healer but also frequently that of a person seeking to be healed.[47] She includes numerous references to illnesses and suffering that she experienced in the course of her lifetime; these afflictions, especially those that accompany her visions, have been the focus of much speculation and considerable scholarly debate.[48] Although physical causes for her sicknesses and even for her visionary experiences may be proposed, there appears to be for Hildegard an unambiguous connection between her spiritual and corporeal states: religious weakness or failing can manifest itself with physical afflictions.

The *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* provide glimpses into the nature of 12th-century monastic medicine; just as importantly, they introduce Hildegard's perception of the relationship between the natural world and that which lies beyond it. Florence Glaze notes that Hildegard is, "as a medical thinker, clearly interested in the broader universal context through which she might understand and explain the reasons for diseases, both cosmic and microcosmic, as well as revealing the means by which diseases might be vanquished."[49] Extensively developed in the natural sciences works, such reasoning is present in Hildegard's other writings as well, as will be examined below. The prevalence of allusions to illness and healing, both

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[46] Johannes May, *Die heilige Hildegard von Bingen aus dem Orden des heiligen Benedikt (1098–1179): Ein Lebensbild* (Kempten, 1911), p. 37, and Erich Wasmann, "Die heilige Hildegard von Bingen als Naturforscherin," in *Festschrift Georg von Hertling zum siebzigsten Geburtstage am 31. August 1913* (Kempten, 1913), p. 462. Glaze, "Medical Writer: 'Behold the Human Creature,'" p. 130, comments on what medical literature Hildegard might have had at her disposal.

[47] See, for example, Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, "Hildegard von Bingen. Kranke und Heilerin," *Das Mittelalter* 10 (2005): 20–34.

[48] One frequently cited theory is that of Charles Singer, who claims that Hildegard's visions exhibit characteristics of scintillating scotoma, a visual aura commonly associated with certain kinds of migraines, in "The Scientific Views," pp. 1–55, especially pp. 51–55. Oliver Sacks revisits Singer's ideas in *Migraine. Revised and Expanded* (Berkeley, 1992), pp. 299–301.

[49] Glaze, "Medical Writer: 'Behold the Human Creature,'" p. 133.

physical and spiritual, underscores the importance of these concepts in Hildegard's theology.

In the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure*, an imbalance or excess of one or more humors is the usual cause of illness.[50] In some cases the origins of the imbalance or excess itself are explored, with lack of moderation in eating or poor diet as the primary culprits. However, in these two works, as well as others, the misalignment may be the result of a spiritual shortcoming, e.g. separation from God by choosing to sin, lack of obedience to divine will, and disdain of repentance.[51] Hildegard frequently employs the language of medicine to draw attention to the relationship between the physical and the spiritual. In *Scivias* 2.6 she describes the "leprous of spirit" who embrace the vices of anger and envy and reject virtues such as gentleness and love; in the process, they make their spirits unclean as if they were covered with the most terrible sores.[52] She revisits this image in the *Liber vite meritorum*, noting that as the leprous are segregated from the healthy, so too are the unhappy cut off from God's virtues and his light.[53] In *Scivias* 3.8, wounds made putrid by vice afflict the sinful, and as the sinners become more deeply mired in wickedness, the sores turn hard and burdensome. The grace of God, which frees mankind from the devil, does not shrink from touching these wounds, and those who repent are made whole.[54]

The *Scivias* introduces the analogy of God the Father—and the Son—as Great Physician, with the faithful being admonished to seek his assistance to overcome their maladies, i.e. their sinfulness. In so doing, the physician will test them with bitter medicine, but if they truly repent, he will anoint their wounds with wine and oil and heal them.[55] Here the

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[50] Berger, *On Natural Philosophy and Medicine*, p. 15, describes different types of humoral imbalances in her introduction to her translation of selections from the *Cause et cure*.

[51] Hildegard explores the relationship between the humors and the elements as well as specific organs in the body in *Diu. operum* 1.3.1–19, pp. 114–36.

[52] *Scivias* 2.6, p. 275, ll. 1673–79: "Alii autem in corpora acutissimis spinis circumdantur et in anima leprosi apparent: quia in corde suo ira, odio et inuidia circumdati lenitatem, dulcedinem et caritatem his spinis iniquitatis a se expellunt, unde ita mala appetentes et bona deserentes atque in irrisione ceteros homines contumelia afficientes animam suam uelut pessimis ulceribus immundam reddunt."

[53] *Vite mer.*, 2.48, p. 99, ll. 961–63: "quoniam ut lepra a sanis et mundis separate est ne ab illa tangantur, ita infelicitas ab omnibus uirtutibus Dei segregate est, nec in ulla claritate lucet."

[54] *Scivias* 3.8, pp. 486–87, ll. 295–361: "Taedio enim mihi non est tangere ulcerate uulnera, . . . nec eos scio."

[55] Ibid. 1.4, pp. 90–91, ll. 966–90: "Fidelis autem homo dolorem suum consideret et medicum quaerat, . . . quoniam mortem dilexit nec regnum Deit quaesiuit."

recalcitrance of some sinners is noted: by their own volition, they will not seek the physician or allow themselves to be restored to health—the consequence is death. The same admonition is found in Hildegard's letter to Prior Frederick, whom she chides for nurturing the falling sickness (*cadentem morbum*) and then implores to seek the unguent that heals—in order to live forever.[56]

Although the Trinitarian Father, Son, or Holy Spirit may assume the role of the healer, the Son almost always effects the cure: Christ, through his body and his blood, is the true medicine, and his incarnation cleanses from the wounds of sin.[57] In *Scivias* 1.3, the analogy is developed further, with God as Great Physician likened to the healer, and maladies of various degrees of seriousness compared with lesser and greater sins; as the healer demands payment to cure a grave condition, so too does God expect more profound repentance from those whose faults are greater.[58] Only once, in her letter to the priest Conrad, does Hildegard designate a religious as a "physician." It is not only the sinful or the habitually wicked who are ailing, but also the baptized who fall short of true devotion to God. Hildegard distinguishes individuals who—either through weak eyes or crippled feet—demonstrate lack of commitment to accomplishing God's will, from those with clear eyes and strong feet who "meditat[e] on the pure and brilliant splendor, marching forward vigorously in the womb of the image."[59] Likewise, the merging of the physical and the spiritual is found in her letter to the hospitaler seeking medicine for his sins, when she notes that his soul is swollen and bloated by doubt and trepidation.[60]

Illness as punishment figures prominently in Hildegard's theology. Related to original sin, it is described in book 2 of the *Cause et cure*, which

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[56] *Epistolarium*, I, 47, p. 116, ll. 6–11: "et iterum in nociua pestilentia colis cadentem morbum, quasi non exquirenda sit causa salutis . . . Aspice ad me et semper require unguentum medicine in die et in turbine, et in eternum uiues."

[57] *Scivias* 2.6, p. 239, ll. 495–96: "quoniam etiam Filius meus medicinam uulnerum uestrorum in paenitentia attulit"; 2.6., p. 249, ll. 809–10: "ruminantes ueram medicinam in corpore eiusdem Vnigeniti mei"; and 3.8, p. 502, ll. 856–57: "ac continens maximam medicinam quae tersit uulnera peccatorum per incarnationem ipsius." Occasionally other members of the Trinity assume this role, e.g. the Holy Spirit in Hildegard's letter to Canon Udalric, *Epistolarium*, I, 53R, p. 132, ll. 10–11: "Tunc columba dabit tibi unguentum, et uulnus tuum terget."

[58] Ibid. 1.3, p. 58, ll. 600–08: "Ego enim sum magnus medicus omnium languorum, . . . et ostendam tibi misericordiam meam et uitam aeternam tibi dabo."

[59] *Scivias* (Eng.), pp. 195–96; *Scivias* 2.4, p. 169, ll. 343–46: "Et ex his qui ipsum purum et lucidum splendorem considerant, quidam claros oculos et fortes pedes habent ac in uentre eiusdem imaginis fortiter incedunt."

[60] *Epistolarium*, I, 88, p. 213, ll. 2–4.

begins with Adam's fall and discusses Adam's elemental nature: formed of earth and water, that which holds the earth together, he was quickened by the breath of God, fire, and air.[61] It also examines the origins of disease, asserting that many ailments result from the excess of phlegm (*flecmata*), a condition brought about by Adam's actions: by choosing to sin, he separated himself from that which is good and introduced that which is bad into his body.[62] The capacity for illness entered the human body with the first sin and resulted from the alienation of humankind from God. Since each person determines his own path in life, sin and hence disease remain a possibility for every individual and are determined by the person's own will. The same explanation for the origin of illness is found in book 5 of the *Liber vite meritorum*, where Hildegard writes: "While man is alive and able to do good and evil, he may bring afflictions to his body because of his sins."[63] Although Adam is the source, sin is present in every generation of humankind.

A connection between the humors and sin is provided in the *Cause et cure* as well. When Adam first inhabited paradise, the humor of black bile contained in him was like a crystal or bright light, representing consciousness and the completion of good works; it allowed for a more direct connection to the Divine. After Adam disobeyed God's command, this brilliance was lost, Adam's eyes were unable to see heavenly things, his soul became sad (melancholy), and anger manifested itself.[64]

A comparable affliction troubles *Tristitia Seculi* (Worldly Sorrow) in the *Vite Meritorum*: entangled in a dried-up and leafless tree, she is cut off

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[61] *Cause*, 2.56, p. 59, and 2.74, p. 71: "Nam cum deus hominem crearet, limus per aquam conglutinatus est, ex quo homo formatus est, misitque deus in formam illam 'spiraculum uite' igneum et aereum."

[62] Ibid., 2.64, pp. 63–64: "Quod autem quidam homines diuersas infirmitates patiuntur, hoc de flecmate est, quod in ipsis habundat. Si enim homo in paradyso permansisset, flecmata in corpore suo non haberet, unde multa mala procedunt, sed caro eius integra esset et absque liuore. Cum autem malo consensit et bonum reliquit, similis factus est terre, que et bonas et utiles ac malas et inutiles herbas gignit, et que bonam et malam humiditatem et succum in se habet." Glaze, "Medical Writer: 'Behold the Human Creature,'" p. 136, discusses this passage from other perspectives.

[63] *Book of the Rewards of Life*, p. 255; *Vite mer.*, 5.68, p. 255, ll. 1244–45: "Quapropter homo dum in seculo uiuit et dum bonum et malum operari potest, corpori suo afflictionem pro peccatis suis imponat." Book 5 presents the visions of the man looking over the entire earth—a comprehensive perspective that takes in the present and the past, and one that echoes other themes of the second book of the *Cause* as well, e.g. references to the elements (5.20), especially water (5.13, 5.15, 5.18, and 5.19).

[64] *Cause*, 2.298, p. 183: "Cum enim Adam diuinum preceptum preuaricatus est, in ipso momento melancholia in sanguine eius coagulata est, ut splendor recedit, cum lumen extinguitur, et ut stuppa ardens et fumigans fetendo remanet."

from the life-giving spirit of God because of her willingness to accept the vice-filled world and her inability to recognize the salvation God offers; the voice from heaven identifies her as blind and deaf and as foolish because of her sins.[65] In the *Scivias*, Hildegard likewise takes to task those who wallow in vice, thereby inflicting suffering upon themselves and disdaining the cure at hand.[66] In the final book of this work, *Zelus Dei* (God's Zeal) punishes the iniquity of the hardened who will not seek a cure in the form of repentance.[67]

God's call and Hildegard's response to it frequently relate to the Benedictine's own struggle with sickness. As a child of five, she experienced visions that entered her brain as a fiery light, but she refused for years to reveal them to anyone, acquiescing only after God afflicted her with illness.[68] In her study of Hildegard's *Vita* in which she explores the relationship between sanctity and sickness, Barbara Newman notes Hildegard's "prophetic view of illness," stating that "because she was his chosen instrument, God did not hesitate to use her body as a sign . . . Hildegard understood her pains as unsubtle reminders, even punishments, sent by God when she was not fulfilling his will as promptly as he wished."[69] However, in the "Protestificatio" of the *Scivias*, the Living Light probes deeper into the reason for Hildegard's suffering:

> The person [Hildegard] whom I have chosen and whom I have miraculously stricken as I willed, I have placed among great wonders, beyond the measure of the ancient people who saw in Me many secrets; but I have laid her low on the earth, that she might not set herself up in arrogance of mind . . . For she suffers in her inmost being and in the veins of her flesh; she is distressed in mind and sense and endures great pain of body, because no security has dwelt in her, but in all her undertakings she has judged herself guilty.[70]

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[65] *Vite mer.*, 5.9–11, pp. 225–27, ll. 184–252. A comparison of the blind to those lacking hope or faith in God is found elsewhere in the *Vite mer.*, e.g. 3.62, p. 161.

[66] *Scivias* 2.6, p. 277, ll. 1764–68.

[67] Ibid. 3.5, p. 411, ll. 125–26: "qui est uindicta inflexibilis iniquitatis, nec ullam medicinam desiderantis."

[68] Ibid., Protestificatio, pp. 3–6, ll. 24–90. This incident is recorded in similar fashion in the *Vita* of Hildegard compiled by Gottfried of Disibodenberg and Theodoric of Echternach: when Hildegard defies God's command to write down her visions or speak His words, she is afflicted by illness, but when she acquiesces, the illness subsides. See Anna Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources*, Brepols Medieval Women Series (University Park, Pa., 1998), pp. 141, 146–48; *V. Hild.*, pp. 8, 12, 13.

[69] Barbara Newman, "Three-Part Invention: The *Vita S. Hildegardis* and Mystical Hagiography," in *Context*, p. 199.

[70] *Scivias* (Eng.), Declaration, p. 60; *Scivias*, Protestificatio, pp. 4–5, ll. 52–64: "Ego lux uiuens et obscura illuminans hominem quem uolui et quem mirabiliter secundum quod

Hildegard is afflicted by God with physical ailments when she refuses to write down and therefore reveal her visionary experiences; she also suffers mental torment when she acknowledges that she has not been God's faithful servant. The *Vita* notes as well that Hildegard experienced illness "as often as she hung back in feminine alarm or doubted that the purposes of the divine will would be achieved."[71] Like *Tristitia Seculi* (Worldly Sorrow), as described above, the holy woman serves as the catalyst for her own suffering.

The responses of others to God's message are occasionally the source of Hildegard's maladies as well. When individuals doubt her message or fail to heed her advice, she also takes to her sickbed, as when she wishes to establish a new community for the religious women at Rupertsberg, despite the remonstrations of Abbot Kuno and some of the brothers at Disibodenberg. As soon as the men yield to Hildegard's wishes—which are also God's plan—she recovers.[72] With regard to the contentious move to Rupertsberg, Hildegard is not the only one plagued by physical maladies; the monk Arnold, who opposes the move, is struck with a life-threatening swelling of the tongue—an appropriate affliction for one whose words have caused such discord—but as soon as he vows to withdraw his objections, he recovers immediately.[73] In these scenes, illness serves as a barometer of God's pleasure or displeasure with his servants; here sickness is equated with punishment—not because of sin—but rather because of disobedience, or not yielding oneself fully to God's will, a theme—and a humility topos—found in the writings of other medieval religious as well.

As her writings attest, Hildegard is concerned not only with the origins of sickness and disease but also with the curing of them. The customary methods of healing described in the medical-scientific works involve natural substances, specifically plants and minerals, with a brief descrip-

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mihi placuit excussi in magnis mirabilibus trans metam antiquorum hominum, qui in me multa secreta uiderunt, posui; sed in terram straui illum, quod se non erigeret in ulla elatione mentis suae. . . . Ipse enim in medullis et in uenis carnis suae doluit, constrictum animum et sensum habens atque multam passionem corporis sustinens, ita quod in eo diuersa securitas non latuit, sed in omnibus causis suis se culpabilem aestimauit."

[71] Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, p. 147; *V. Hild.*, p. 12: "et quotienscumque feminea trepidatione tardasset uel dubitasset superne uoluntatis peragere negotia."

[72] *V. Hild.*, pp. 10–12.

[73] Ibid., pp. 10–11: "tanta uexatione subito percussus est corporis, ut de uita quoque desperaret linguamque in immensum turgentem ore continere non posset . . . moxque ut illic uouit, quod ultra non obstaret, sed pro posse anniteretur."

tion of how the remedies are to be prepared and applied. In addition, 31 incantations are included in the *Physica* text: 14 regarding stones, nine concerning animals, six referencing trees, and one each in the books on plants and elements. The *Cause et cure* manuscript includes only a single set of four charms, found almost verbatim in the *Physica*'s book on animals. Recitation of the formulaic cures sometimes is accompanied by the use of an amulet. In each, the spoken or written word functions slightly differently in the healing process.[74]

The mandrake, for example, long associated with ritual magic because of its properties and shape, is recommended in the *Physica* for various conditions. First, it is to be pulled from the earth and cleansed in spring water to remove any bad humors or magic. As a cure for pain and weakness in the heart, the ailing individual should take the root and place it in his own bed, and then call upon God, who created Adam from the earth and without pain, to take away the pain from his "earth," i.e. his body.[75] A second incantation also focuses on the element of the earth: in the description of a remedy using "greenish earth" (*terra subviridus*) to cure numbness, the soil, which is cold and dry, is to be dug up from beside the bed of the patient and put under his head and feet. As the afflicted person absorbs the "vital greenness" (*viriditatem*) of the soil, the earth itself is addressed twice, the second time in the name of the Trinity.[76]

The significance of the special power of stones in the *Physica* is commensurate with references in the *Scivias* as well as Hildegard's letters.[77]

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[74] Richard Kieckhefer offers a useful description of different types of verbal formulas used for healing purposes in *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 69–75. Several resources in German are Irmgard Hampp, *Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet. Untersuchungen zum Zauberspruch aus dem Bereich der Volksheilkunde* (Stuttgart, 1961) and Gerhard Eis, *Altdeutsche Zaubersprüche* (Berlin, 1964). The *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, eds. Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (reprint; Berlin, 1987) provides detailed information on certain types of charms. Moulinier, "Magie, médecine et maux de l'âme," comments on the role of incantations in the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* and provides commentary on several of the formulas, pp. 546–50.

[75] *Physica*, 1.56, p. 89: "deus qui hominem de limo terre absque dolore fecisti, nunc terram istam que numquam transgressa est, iuxta me pono, ut etiam terra mea pacem illam sentiat, sicut eam creasti."

[76] Ibid., 2.12, pp. 176–77: "Tu terra, in homine isto N. dormis," and "Tu, terra, in homine isto N. viriditatem recipe et cresce et profice in nomine patri set filii et spiritus sancti, qui omnipotens et vivens deus est." "N" or "N." is a common placeholder for the *Nomen*, the name of the afflicted, in incantations.

[77] *Scivias* 2.2, pp. 127–28, ll. 110–34; *Epistolarium*, I, 77R, pp. 164–75, here p. 172, ll. 149–59; and *Epistolarium*, II, 149R, pp. 333–37, here p. 335, ll. 51–58. For more on this topic, see Peter Riethe, "Die medizinische Lithologie der Hildegard von Bingen," in *Hildegard von Bingen 1179–1979. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen*, pp. 351–70, as well as Newman,

As an amulet, the sardius is used to cure insanity; God is invoked to remove the disease from the afflicted person just as he cast the sinful angel from heaven.[78] In this form it also is employed to stimulate childbirth and is to be rubbed on the thighs of a pregnant woman as well; in this instance both the stone and the unborn child are called upon to lessen the pain and ensure a successful delivery.[79] In addition, it can be used to combat pustules, fever, and jaundice; in each case the illness is adjured.[80] Likewise, topaz is used in several ways with verbal formulas, serving to cast off fevers as well as to incur God's blessing.[81] The magnesian stone (*magnes*) is to be rubbed on the head of a person who is mad; the insanity is to be subdued in the same manner that God used in curbing the strength of the devil.[82]

Several incantations are used to battle unnatural conditions. The cypress tree, strong and hot, has the ability to ward off the devil: when a person is "ensnared by the devil or by magic" (*a dyabolo vel per magica irretitus est*), he should be given water that has been poured through a piece of cypress wood through which a hole has been bored; while pouring the water, words should be recited that beseech the water to provide strength to the afflicted individual and "destroy the misfortunes within him" (*ut in eo destituas omnes contrarietates que in ipso sunt*).[83] An individual "bewitched by delusions or by magic words" (*per fantasmata aut per magica verba vergogelit ist/bezaubert est*) is aided by the jacinth, used

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Sister of Wisdom, pp. 148–50. Ursula Fuchs examines the relationship of Hildegard's lapidary to her visionary works in "Der Stein im Rad des Kosmos. Hildegards 'Steinbuch' als Verbindungsglied zwischen 'Scivias' und 'De operatione Dei,'" in *Hildegard von Bingen. Prophetin durch die Zeiten*, pp. 466–74.

[78] *Physica*, 4.7, p. 239: "sicut deus primum angelum in abissum deiecit, ita insaniam hanc de te, N, abscidat, et bonam scientiam tibi reddat."

[79] Ibid., 4.7, p. 240: "Sicut tu lapis iussione dei in primo angelo fulsisti, sic tu infans procede fulgens homo et manens in deo," and "Aperite vos vie et porta in apparitione illa qua Christus deus et homo apparuit, et claustra inferni aperuit, ita et tu infans ad portam istam exeas, absque morte tua et absque morte matris tue."

[80] Ibid., 4.7, pp. 239–40: "Ego umbestrichen te pustulam in splendore illo qui per voluntatem dei in primo angelo fulsit, et iterum in deum refulsit, ut tu in homine isto cadas et recedas, sicut etiam splendor lapidis huius a primo angelo propter superbiam eius cecidit." Much of the second formula is borrowed verbatim from the first, and for jaundice the reader is directed to use the words in the previous incantation.

[81] Ibid., 4.8, p. 241: "Ego inspicio me quasi in speculo illo in quo cherubin et seraphin deum aspiciunt, ita quod deus has febres de me abiciat," and p. 242: "Deus qui super omnia et in omnibus magnificatus est, in honore suo me non abiciat, sed in benedictione me constituat et confirmet."

[82] Ibid., 4.18, p. 253: "Tu furens malum cede in virtute illa qua deus virtutem de celo ruentis dyaboli in bonitate hominis mutavit."

[83] Ibid., 3.20, p. 205.

to bless bread into which a cross is cut.[84] Just as the devil, because of disobedience, was stripped by God of his splendor—represented by this precious stone—in like manner should the madness tormenting this person be removed; one incantation is spoken as the healer makes a vertical stroke with the stone, the second as the horizontal motion completes the form of the cross.[85] The sapphire is employed to take away burning passion caused by the devil; it is also instrumental in the preparation of an amulet to drive out an evil spirit.[86] An incantation associated with the chrysoprase (*crisoprassus*) is to be used on a person possessed by the devil; if the demon is not fierce, he will depart.[87]

The final two uses of incantations discussed here are more extensive. The remedy in *Cause et cure* to ward off the temptation of devilish thoughts consists of four recitations. They are alike in that all four invoke the power of almighty God; they differ solely in the verb used to address each steel pin that will hold in place the belts made of elk and roe deer skin that the afflicted person is to wear as protection.[88] In the description of the beech tree, four related incantations are employed to treat various conditions. The first two are similar in form, calling on the holy incarnation and divine humanity and naming the sickness in each case. The first addresses the remedy itself, whereas the second commands the illnesses to abandon their unfortunate victim.[89] The two incantations in the subsequent pair also share similarities: each references a biblical vision and beseeches rescue from death. The first tells of the Old Testament story of God appearing to Abraham, and the second alludes to the New Testament

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[84] Ibid., 4.2, p. 233.

[85] Ibid., 4.2, p. 233: "Deus qui omnem preciositatem lapidum de dyabolo abiecit, cum preceptum eius transgressus est, de te, N, omnia fantasmata et omnia magica verba abiciat, et te de dolore amentie huius absolvat," and "Sicut splendor quem dyabolus in se habuit, propter transgressionem suam ab eo ablatus est, sic etiam hec amentia, que te, N, per diversas fantasias et per diversa magica fatigat, a te auferatur et a te deficiat."

[86] Ibid., 4.6, p. 238: "O tu turpissime spiritus ab hoc homine festinanter recede, sicut in primo casu tuo gloria splendoris tui a te citissime cecidit."

[87] Ibid., 4.13, p. 246: "Ego aqua super lapidem istum te fundo in virtute illa, qua deus solem cum currente luna fecit."

[88] *Cause*, 4.406, p. 240: "Qui a dyabolico fantasmate in die aut in nocte uigilando aut dormiendo fatigatur, . . . 'In fortissima ui omnipotentis dei ad tutamentum meum te confirmo.'"

[89] *Physica*, 3.26, p. 210: "Per sanctam cincturam sancte incarnationis, qua deus homo factus est, abtrahe ab homine isto N dolorem gelewe socht," and "Per sanctam cincturam sancte incarnationis, qua deus homo factus est, tu riddo defice in frigore et in calore tuo in homine isto N, et hoc etiam per quinque vulnera Christi coniurate et convicte faciatis," respectively.

account of Christ's baptism.[90] Following all but the third incantation, Hildegard reiterates that the remedy will be effective, unless God forbids it or does not wish the individual to be freed from the malady.[91]

Although the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* customarily identify the healer as the one who should prepare and employ the remedies, sometimes the patient is also called upon to engage actively in the curative process. One such example is found in the cure for epilepsy involving an emerald. Hildegard recommends that the stone be placed in the mouth of the afflicted person; this action itself will revive the person's spirit, since the emerald is filled with the "vitality of the air" (*viriditate aeris*). Once the attack subsides, the epileptic should pray for God's grace to fill his body, as God's breath has filled the world.[92] Here the suffering individual takes responsibility for his condition and acts to effect his own recovery. The negative behavior described above that may result in illness—consenting to do evil, wallowing in vice, disobeying God's will—may be counteracted by positive actions, such as those recommended here, which bring about healing.

Like other medieval religious women, Hildegard demonstrates her curative abilities not only through remedies employing plants and other natural materials but also through the use of the spoken and written word.[93] Imbued with power, divinely bestowed and frequently borrowed from Scripture or liturgy, the words empower the healer to enact God's will—if healing is indeed what God intends. The practitioner of the healing arts is merely a conduit: the ability to cure is reserved for God alone.

The power of the spoken word and the curative power of certain gestures and natural objects, such as plants and stones, are also chronicled in the biography of Hildegard prepared by Gottfried and Theoderic. Titled

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[90] Ibid., 3.26, p. 210: "Per primam ostensionem qua deus hominem vidit in radice mambre, frange undas veneni hominis absque morte illius," and "Per primam ostensionem, qua Jesus in Jordane baptizatus est, o unda pertransi venenum absque morte hominis istius N et aufer ab eo omnem illusionem pestis huius, et fac eum ab ea purum, sicut et Jesus pura vita fuit," respectively.

[91] It should be noted that this caveat is not unique to the incantations. It is found, frequently as an *explicit*, in many other remedies.

[92] *Physica*, 4.1, p. 231: "Sicut spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum, sic domum corporis mei sua gratia repleat, et dyabolum ab ea repellat, ne eam umquam movere possit." The phrase *et dyabolum ab ea repellat* is added in the Florence manuscript.

[93] Debra L. Stoudt, "Medieval German Women and the Power of Healing," in *Women Healers and Physicians. Climbing a Long Hill*, ed. Lilian R. Furst (Lexington, Ky., 1997), p. 22.

de miraculis,[94] the third book of the *Vita* contains 28 examples of extraordinary healing, including three incantations. In order to restore the sight of a blind boy, Hildegard recalls Christ's command, "Go to the pool of Siloe, and wash" (Jn. 9:7) (*Vade ad natatoria Syloe et laua*); blesses the water of the Rhine; and sprinkles it on the child's eyes to heal him.[95] When the *magistra* cures the extremely ill soldier, she derives her power to heal from Jesus's words: "they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover" (Mk. 16:18).[96] In response to a petition from a woman from Lausanne named Sybil, Hildegard sends a letter containing the blood charm: "In the blood of Adam, death arose; in the blood of Christ, death was extinguished" (*In sanguine Ade orta est mors, in sanguine Christi extincta est mors*);[97] the woman is cured, presumably after the letter is put in place as an amulet and the words are uttered. It is, perhaps, significant that none of the verbal formulas from the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* are included in the *Vita*; instead scriptural quotations and well-known medieval formulas are attributed to Hildegard as she effected miraculous healing.[98] There is no question as to the hagiographic nature of the *Vita*, which serves to attest to the holiness of the *magistra*, beloved and revered especially in her native region. However, it seems more than coincidence that a preponderance of the wondrous acts recorded in it focus on Hildegard's healing ability, a skill and gift well known during her lifetime.

A case that is documented in the *Vita*, as well as in Hildegard's letters, involves the possession by a devil of Sigewize, a lady from Brauweiler, near Cologne;[99] Hildegard provides a written description of the rite of

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[94] Peter Bernards examines the place of the third book of Hildegard's *vita* within the contemporaneous tradition of miracle literature in "Die rheinische Mirakelliteratur im 12. Jahrhundert," *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 138 (1941), 22–24.

[95] *V. Hild.*, p. 55.

[96] Ibid., p. 53: "In nomine eius qui dixit: Super egros manus imponent, et bene habebunt, infirmitas ista a te recedat et sanus esto."

[97] Ibid., p. 51. The incident also is recorded in *Epistolarium*, III, 338, p. 95. For more on the blood charm, see "Blutsegen," *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 1, p. 1455, and Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* (reprint; Graz, 1960), vol. 2, pp. 511–12. Michael Embach offers comments on this charm in "Trierer Zauber- und Segenssprüche des Mittelalters," *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 44 (2004): 45–47; my thanks to George Ferzoco for bringing this article to my attention.

[98] *Acta inquisitionis*, col. 135, alludes to "Hildegard's incantations," which foil a devil, but the words themselves are not included.

[99] *V. Hild.*, pp. 55–65 and pp. 91–92. See also Peter Dronke, "Problemata Hildegardiana," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1981), 118–21 and 127–29; and Newman, "Three-Part Invention," pp. 189–209, especially pp. 204–09. Embach, "Trierer Zauber- und Segenssprüche," pp. 46–47, discusses this scene as well; he also references a further incantation in the *V. Disib.*, one to restore speech to a mute: Hildegard of Bingen, *Vita sancti Disibodi episcopi*,

exorcism, complete with text, to seven local priests who are to carry it out, but their attempt ends in failure. It is left to the *magistra* to banish the spirit when the possessed woman physically appears before her. In a letter on the matter, Hildegard notes that many in the religious community contributed to Sigewize's healing: some prayed on her behalf, others fasted, others gave alms.[100] Despite this modesty, Hildegard is recognized for her miraculous healing powers; unable to bring the exorcism to a successful conclusion on their own, the priests learn a lesson in humility.

An incantation that invokes divine intercession may be characterized as part of a miraculous cure, whereas the rebuke of the devil or a malady that threatens harm is viewed more commonly as magic. Although some of the incantations against unnatural conditions described above involve the devil and magic, evil is never addressed. Hildegard—as well as her biographers—is careful to portray her healing words and actions as conforming to orthodox expectations of a religious healer. It is anticipated that no allusion to a pact with the devil be made, unknown names and mysterious signs be avoided, and the cure itself make clear that its efficacy depends entirely upon the will of God.[101]

Although Hildegard references various strains of the supernatural in her descriptions of medical conditions and cures,[102] she draws a clear distinction between magic and miracles in her writings. The former is the realm of the devil,[103] who reveals himself to humankind through magic, deceiving and seducing it.[104] Magic and evil are allied in the visionary works as well as in her medical writings.[105] However, whereas the magical is diabolical, the miraculous is divine. In Hildegard's works, miracles are

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Acta Sanctorum (AASS), Juli II (Antwerp, 1721), 592C–D; *V. Disib.*, PL 197:1105; *Two Hagiographies*, pp. 116–17. An abbreviated version of the exorcism dialogue as recorded in the Dendermonde manuscript is found in a 15th-century French Hildegard *vita*; Laurence Moulinier provides an edition and an examination of the text, "Unterhaltungen mit dem Teufel: Eine französische Hildegardvita des 15. Jahrhunderts und ihre Quellen," in *Umfeld*, pp. 519–60.

[100] *Epistolarium*, II, 158R, p. 354.

[101] The *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas includes a somewhat longer list of restrictions concerning the use of textual amulets; although the *Summa* dates from the 13th century, the guidelines it contains would have prevailed for the previous century as well. The list is included by Michael Howes, *Amulets* (New York, 1975), p. 146. See also Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words. Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*, Magic in History (University Park, Pa., 2006), pp. 63–64.

[102] Newman, *Sister of Wisdom*, p. 149.

[103] This point is noted as well by Skemer, *Binding Words*, p. 56, footnote 105.

[104] *Scivias* 1.3, pp. 52–53, ll. 428–48.

[105] See, for example, *Vite mer.*, 5.47, p. 249, and *Physica*, 2.7, p. 194, and 2.20, p. 205.

the acts of God and his saints.[106] The great miracle (*mirabile* or *miraculum*) is, for Hildegard, the wine and the blood, the deeds of God in the Old Testament, of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit—as well as of the entire Trinity.[107]

The relationship between magic and miracle is exemplified in *Scivias* 3.11, which describes the end times. The mother of the Antichrist will teach him magic, and his power will be such that he will appear to perform miracles: "he will heal the sick and afflict those who are healthy, cast out devils, and raise the dead."[108] Whereas the Antichrist merely *appears* to work wonders, it is God's miracles, revealed in the meantime only to the elect, that will triumph on the Day of Judgement.[109]

Hildegard herself cures the sick and successfully performs an exorcism. How do her acts differ from the diabolical magic she ascribes to the Antichrist? In the vision of the Antichrist God explains to her that the sick

> . . . will seek medicine from doctors, but will not be cured; and so they will return to him to see whether he can cure them. And when he sees them he will take away the weakness he brought upon them; and so they will love him dearly and believe in him. And so many will be deceived, for they will blind their own inner vision with which they should have regarded Me. For they will use their minds to probe this novelty their outer eyes see and their hands touch, and despise the invisible things that abide in Me and must be understood by true faith. For mortal eyes cannot see Me, but I show My miracles in the shadows to those I choose.[110]

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[106] Beverly Mayne Kienzle examines Hildegard's interest in the miraculous and her characterization of Christ's wondrous works in the *Expositiones euangeliorum* in "Hildegard of Bingen's Exegesis of Jesus' Miracles and the Twelfth-Century Study of Science," in *Delivering the Word. Preaching and Exegesis in the Western Christian Tradition,* ed. William John Lyons and Isabella Sandwell (London, 2012), pp. 99–120; my thanks to Professor Kienzle for making available the proofs of this article prior to its publication.

[107] See, for example, *Scivias* 2.3, p. 157, ll. 790–91; 2.5, p. 182, ll. 356–59; 2.6, p. 257, ll. 1088–99; 2.6, p. 287, ll. 2100–02; 3.3, p. 380, ll. 319–20; 3.3, p. 382, ll. 404–05; and 3.5, p. 422, ll. 492–94.

[108] Ibid. 3.11, pp. 590–91, ll. 530–546, and p. 591, ll. 547–62.

[109] Ibid. 3.11, p. 592, ll. 580–81.

[110] *Scivias* (Eng.), p. 503; *Scivias* 3.11, p. 592, ll. 571–81: "Qui dum medicinam medicorum quaerunt nec curare poterunt, ad ipsum recurrunt, tentantes si eos curare ualeat. Sed dum eos uiderit, debilitatem quam eis intulit ipsis aufert, unde ualde eum amantes in ipsum credunt. Et sic multi decipiuntur, cum ipsi oculos interioris hominis obnubilant, per quos in me respicere debuerant, uolentes in probatione animi sui uelut in quadam nouitate illa scire quae exterioribus oculis uident et quae manibus palpant, contemnentes illa inuisibilia quae in me manent et quae uera fide comprehendenda sunt: quia mortales oculi me uidere non possunt, sed miracula mea in obumbratione illis ostendo quibus uoluero."

The Antichrist will use his magic to manipulate, seduce, and deceive humankind. The Great Physician and those chosen by him heal humankind from the evil of sin, which is a manifestation of separation from God. It is those who, through their own will, are blind to the inner vision who will be deceived. God will reveal himself only to those who abide in faithfulness.

Given the limited manuscript tradition of the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure*, it might appear that their impact—and that of Hildegard's healing arts—is modest. However, their influence on the *magistra*'s other writings and on her understanding of the cosmos is profound. Hildegard's study of and experience with the natural world around her lead her to an understanding of and respect for the remarkable properties of natural substances. The wondrous nature of the cosmos reveals itself to her, not only through her divine visions, but also through everyday occurrences. The interconnectedness of the universe—which is God's creation—with God himself manifests itself in the idea of *viriditas*, the divinely bestowed life-giving force, and in Hildegard's dual conception of the imbalance of humors: as physical illness and as spiritual alienation from God and his creation. This relationship binds the *Physica* and the *Cause et cure* with the visionary works that precede and follow them; it is indeed a theme that informs Hildegard's entire oeuvre.

HILDEGARD OF BINGEN (1098–1179): A HISTORY OF RECEPTION*

Michael Embach

Preliminary Remarks

Hildegard of Bingen is currently considered to be the best known woman from the Middle Ages, and possibly even the most important one. However, this modern evaluation cannot simply be transferred onto the medieval or early modern periods. Instead, this conclusion is the result of a broadly diversified and protracted history of reception, which includes the targeted dissemination of manuscripts, publication of her texts in print form, a continual and continuing citation of Hildegard in literary and historiographic texts, the fostering of her *memoria*, and also an engagement with Hildegard as a person within visual and graphic arts, literature, and film. The image of Hildegard that has been created over the centuries is not free from internal tensions and contradictions. In particular, the accentuation of Hildegard as a healer, doctor, and cook is a view (especially in its most extreme emphasis) that arose only in past decades, and for which the historical transmission of her works offers neither a secure nor a sufficient foundation. Perhaps no other medieval figure has been as subject to transitions that have strayed so profoundly from an authentic impression, moving through myth and legend, and finally into pure fiction.

The Manuscript Transmission of Hildegard's Works: An Overview

The transmission of Hildegard's works in manuscript form amounts to approximately 360 codices worldwide.[1] This number also includes the

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* Translated by Rebecca L. Garber.

[1] The basis for this number is shaped by the compilation *Conspectus der Handschriften Hildegards von Bingen* (Münster, 2013) by Michael Embach and Martina Wallner. This refers to a complete index of all manuscripts that include works by Hildegard, including Gebeno of Eberbach's *Pentachronon* and other pseudepigraphical texts. Regarding the reception, see Michael Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Erudiri Sapientia 4 (Berlin, 2003). Regarding the German reception, see Michael Embach, "Hildegard von Bingen [Korrektur/Nachtrag]," in *Verfasserlexikon* 2nd ed., vol. 11 (Berlin, 2002), cols. 658–70.

Pentachronon and other pseudepigraphical adaptations and compilations of Hildegard's original texts. Geographically, it is obvious that Hildegard's writings initially found reception in Germany. Beginning in the 13th and 14th centuries, multiple traces of her works and their influence appear in the Netherlands, Italy, France, England, and Bohemia.

In the Low Countries, her texts were primarily disseminated through the abbeys of Gembloux and Villers. Guibert of Gembloux, Hildegard's last secretary and the editor of a fragmentary *vita* of the seer, was particularly important for the propagation of her reputation. In later periods, there was also a strong reception of Hildegardian thoughts in the Low Countries. Lodewijk Clysters holds that the famous altar in Ghent from Hubert and Jan van Eyck (*c.*1415–1425) was deeply influenced by Hildegard's *Scivias* (especially 3.13).[2]

Hildegard's Italian reception is attested in a text by William of Lucca (Wilhelmus Lucensis, d. 1178). In his *Comentum in tertiam ierarchiam Dionisii que est de divinis nominibus*, composed between 1169 and 1177, he cites Hildegard's exorcism of Sigewize of Cologne. References to the *Scivias* also appear in his work.[3] In addition, an illuminated manuscript of the *Liber diuinorum operum* arrived in Lucca, possibly as early as the 12th century, where it now resides in the state library (Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, Ms. 1942). Possible proof of the influence of this text appears in one of the frescoes on the Camposanto Monumentale in Pisa, painted in 1391: a depiction of the cosmography by Piero of Puccio shows links to these illuminations. In addition, the baptismal font (third quarter, 12th century) in the Basilica di San Frediano in Lucca displays motifs that could have been inspired by the *Liber diuinorum operum* manuscript of the same city.[4] Since the Middle Ages the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence has likewise held Cod. S. Crucis, Plut. 22, dex. 4, a manuscript containing the *Litterae ignotae*, an excerpt from the *Scivias*, and a number of Hildegard's letters. The most complete extant manuscript of the *Liber simplicis medicinae* also arrived in Florence, but at a later date (Bibl. Med. Laur., Cod. Laur. Ashb.

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[2] Lodewijk Clysters, *Kunst en mystiek: De aanbidding van het Lam, Naar een genetische verklaring* (Tongerloo, 1935).

[3] See Wilhelmus Lucensis, *Comentum in tertiam ierarchiam Dionisii que est de divinis nominibus*. Ed. Ferruccio Gastaldelli, Testi e Studi 3 (Florence, 1983), pp. XCII, XCIII, and 221. Ferruccio Gastaldelli, *Scritti di letteratura, filologia e teologia medievali* (Spoleto, 2000), pp. 177–316.

[4] Romano Silva, "Aspetti e problemi iconografici della scultura 'romanica' lucchese," *Actum Luce* 2 (1973): 88, 93f.

1323). Finally, it is possible that Dante's *Divine Comedy* may show influences of Hildegard.[5]

Hildegard's influence entered France via the University of Paris, which was charged with an inquisitorial mandate for the attempt at her canonization. Hildegard herself was in contact with the master of theology Odo of Soissons (d. after 1171), who later became bishop of Tusculum, and even cardinal. Odo was a member of the cathedral school in Paris and was commissioned by Pope Eugene III to examine the Trinitarian theology of Gilbert of la Porrée (Gilbertus Porretanus, *c.*1070–1154), bishop of Poitiers, who had sent two letters to Hildegard and received answers.[6] In addition, the Franciscan John of Rupescissa (Jean de Roquetaillade, around 1315–1365) quoted Hildegard's prophetic authority in his *Vademecum in tribulatione*. A pseudo-Hildegardian prophecy, *Insurgent gentes*, composed in the 13th century, proved highly influential in England during the conflicts about the mendicant orders (see below).

The initial Bohemian reception of Hildegard's works occurred during the reign of Emperor Charles (Karel) IV in connection with another religious controversy, the Hussite Reformation. Evidence for the history of reception in Bohemia is found in a manuscript copy of the *Scivias* in the library of the National Museum in Prague. According to Werner Lauter, the codex, inventoried under the shelfmark Cod. V E 89, contains a Czech translation of excerpts from Hildegard's prophecies.[7] The Charles University Library in Prague also counts codex I. G. 23, dated 1415–1416, among its manuscript holdings; it contains one of Hildegard's prophecies on fols 160v–161v. The excerpt concludes with a passage in Bohemian. The question as to whether this Bohemian reception of the *Scivias* can be linked to a version of the text that Emperor Charles IV transferred to the cathedral chapter in Prague is deserving of further research. That *Scivias* manuscript appears in the catalogue of the St Vitus cathedral library in 1354. The entry reads, "Liber qui dicitur Scivias sive visiones Hildegardis, quem donavit dns Karolus imperator et Bohemiae rex."[8] Moreover, the Metropolitan

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[5] I would like to thank Annarita Zazzaroni (Bologna) for her friendship in disclosing this reference. Zazzaroni, "L'Uomo al centro della 'rota': Dante e Hildegard di Bingen," *Studi e Problemi de Critica Testuale* 78 (2009): 49–80.

[6] *Epistolarium*, I, 39–40R, pp. 100–05.

[7] Werner Lauter, *Hildegard-Bibliographie. Wegweiser zur Hildegard-Literatur*, vol. 2 (Alzey, 1984), p. 10, no. 8.

[8] The catalogue has been edited by Antonin Podlaha and Eduard Šittler, eds., *Chrámový Pokland u. sv. Víta v Praze: Jeho dějiny a Popis* (Prague, 1903), p. XI, no. 101. Regarding the manuscript, see Barbara Drake Boehm, "Charles IV: The Realm of Faith," in *Prague, the*

Chapter in Prague also owns two florilegia from the 15th century (Cod. O XII and Cod. O XIII), which, in addition to the *Pentachronon*, include primarily writings by the Bohemian reformer Jan Hus (*c.*1370–1415). One can consider these to be attempts at linking visionary information about the end times with material that accentuated reform theology. This same library also holds two 15th-century codices (Cod. O II and Cod. DCXVIII) that contain fragments of the pseudo-Hildegardian prophecy, *Insurgent gentes* (see below). Manuscript Cod. 4941 (Theol. 522) in the collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library) in Vienna also includes a version of *Insurgent gentes* that originated in the Bohemian-speaking area. It remains highly probable that Charles IV had a personal interest in Hildegard and her works, as he included visionary passages in his own autobiography and may have considered Hildegard as a predecessor in spirit.

Of great importance to the dissemination of Hildegard's texts was the *Pentachronon*, which was compiled around 1220–1224 by a Cistercian monk, Gebeno of Eberbach (attested 1213–1224).[9] The *Pentachronon* is formed from a sequence of excerpts from Hildegard's visionary works, specifically those sections of the *Scivias* and the *Liber diuinorum operum* that focus on the apocalypse. Gebeno's goal was the creation of a manageable edition of Hildegard's texts. In addition, he hoped that his collection would correct various false doctrines about the end times that had arisen due to the writings of Joachim of Fiore (*c.*1130–1202) and other *pseudoprophetae*. Based on extant manuscripts, the *Pentachronon* exceeded the success of all of Hildegard's original works within a short time following its composition: if one includes fragments, abridged versions, and revised editions in the total, there remain more than 150 texts as proof of its popularity. Due to her representation within this compilation, Hildegard was assigned the role of sibyl, prophet, and apocalyptic voice crying out for reform. She appears in the company of Joachim of Fiore, John of Rupescissa, and even the legendary magician Merlin. Repercussions from the *Pentachronon* appear in works by Henry of Langenstein (Henry of Hesse

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Crown of Bohemia 1347–1437, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiri Fajit (New York, 2005), p. 24. I would like to thank Dr. Boehm (Curator, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters/Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) for her information and friendly pointer to the Prague catalogue from 1354.

[9] José Carlos Santos Paz, *La Obra de Gebenón de Eberbach. Edición crítica* (Florence, 2004).

the Elder, 1325–1397) and Dietrich of Nieheim (Niem or Nyem, *c.*1340–1418), among others.

The *Pentachronon* and the other pseudepigraphical works indicate that Hildegard's original textual focus had been moderated over time and had given way to a rather loose association with the authority of her name. And yet the dissemination of her original works was never disrupted over the course of more than 800 years. The strong effect that Hildegard was able to exert, despite the relatively thin manuscript transmission history, demands an explanation. In summary, it can be stated that this results directly and indirectly from the development of a specific Hildegardian myth, which over time also operated in a form only loosely connected with Hildegard's writings. This myth is commonly evoked as a topos, through which means an aura of generalized importance is created. Hildegard was elevated as the papally approved, prophetic voice of Germany. Pope Eugene III and Bernard of Clairvaux are considered among her informants, and the emperor and several kings number among the recipients of her letters. This image gained another level through the formation of the clichéd views of Hildegard as the most important medieval musical composer or as the first female doctor in Germany.

During the 13th and 14th centuries, Hildegard's works were translated into the vernacular over a broad expanse of Europe, stretching from the British Isles through southern France and Spain, into northern France, the Netherlands and Flanders, and extending east into Bohemia. Hildegard's vernacular reception was not uncommonly based on Gebeno of Eberbach's *Pentachronon*.

From a diachronic point of view encompassing her entire corpus, it would appear that most copies of Hildegard's works were made either during her lifetime or shortly after her death. This copious manuscript transmission could be considered as a phenomenon that is essentially close to authorial, if not indeed controlled by the author herself. Hildegard's own monastery at the Rupertsberg, above all others, formed the beating heart for the dissemination of her texts. Hildegard used the monastery's scriptorium the same way a lord employed his chancery, and production of copies of her texts took on a serial character reminiscent of manufacturing production lines. Several Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries—the abbeys of Zwiefalten, Gembloux, and Sts Eucharius and Matthias in Trier, whose leaders were close to Hildegard—were also drawn into the task of disseminating her works. The last-mentioned abbey in particular performed yeoman's service in the production of Hildegard's manuscripts

for the canonization attempt.[10] Therefore, in the early phase of textual transmission, one can discuss a monastic community of influence, which collectively sought to popularize Hildegard's works through the use of corporate structures. However, Hildegard herself never claimed to be an exclusively monastic author, or even a monastic theologian. For whom did Hildegard write? This question demands a more comprehensive answer: she wrote for believers, for the Church, and even for humanity itself.

The transmission of Hildegard's texts in the form of an *opera omnia* never really became popular. This is represented by the famous Riesenkodex (Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek [Hessian State Library], Ms. 2), which as a manuscript possesses the nimbus of a reliquary and stands as an icon for Hildegard. The claim that Hildegard wrote the codex with her own hand, a statement maintained as fact well into the 17th century, remains significant, even if it is also completely incorrect. It has as little basis in history as the cliché that Hildegard herself painted the miniatures in the illuminated *Scivias* manuscript. Very few manuscripts can even be considered as approximate copies of the Riesenkodex: only Ms. Add. 15102, held by the British Library in London and commissioned by Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516); Ms. lat. Qu. 674, currently in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin as part of the Preußischer Kulturbesitz; and Cod. 721, previously owned by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and currently lost, can be included in this number. Despite this, the Riesenkodex continues to be used as a source for copies of individual works by Hildegard. Even the version of *Scivias* edited by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (Jacque LeFèvre d'Étaples, *c.*1450–1536) and published in 1513 was based on the text included in the Riesenkodex and not on the *Scivias* manuscript itself.

The case that Hildegard's works on natural history were not included in the Riesenkodex serves to underscore the fact that Hildegard was initially considered primarily as a visionary, prophet, and remonstrator of the errant; her roles as physician or composer were considerably less important. The foundation for the former estimation obviously remains the trilogy of visionary texts, the *Scivias*, the *Liber vite meritorum*, and the *Liber diuinorum operum*. These three works, composed over a period of approximately 30 years, represent the nucleus of Hildegard's writings. Other texts,

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[10] Angela Carlevaris, *Das Werk Hildegards von Bingen im Spiegel des Skriptoriums von Trier St. Eucharius*, Mitteilungen und Verzeichnisse aus der Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars zu Trier 12 (Trier, 1999); Michael Embach, "Die Beziehungen Hildegards von Bingen zu Trier," *Jahrbuch Kreis Trier-Saarburg* 31 (2000): 229–235.

which were written for use by her own monastery, or which could even be considered commissioned works, remain significantly less important in the history of Hildegard's influence of reception. These include, more specifically, the *Solutiones triginta octo quaestiones* and the *Expositiones euangeliorum*,[11] as well as the linguistic texts, the *Litterae ignotae* and the *Lingua ignota*. It is only in recent years that Sarah L. Higley undertook the interesting attempt of integrating Hildegard's *Lingua ignota* within the history of artificial languages, incorporating current linguistic creations in this process.[12] The *Vita Ruperti* and the *Vita Disibodi* were originally transmitted in the context of the *Epistolarium*, along with the *De regula Sancti Benedicti* and the *Explanatio symboli S. Athanasii*.[13] These works are thus generally not considered as independent texts in their own right and are also of lesser import in the consideration of reception history.

In a manner reminiscent of her saints' lives, Hildegard's musical text did not develop its own history of influence in the Middle Ages or in the early modern period. From this lacuna, one must assume that Hildegard's chants were not sung outside of her own convent and a few closely linked abbeys. This opinion has changed radically in the present era, in which Hildegard, with the 77 songs recorded in her *Symphonia* and her liturgical play, the *Ordo uirtutum*, is considered to be the most productive female composer from the Middle Ages.[14]

The "visionary trilogy," made up of the *Scivias*, the *Liber vite meritorum*, and the *Liber diuinorum operum*, was sent in 1233 to a master of the University of Paris who had been mandated with the inquisition into canonization. William of Auxerre (d. 1231 or 1237?), the leader of the investigation, disclosed the opinion that Hildegard's writings included divine words instead of human ones (*non in eis esse verba humana, sed divina*).[15] His vote was transmitted to the authority for canonization in Rome and greatly strengthened Hildegard's reputation as an ecclesiastically legitimated prophet. Among the trilogy of visionary texts, the *Scivias* held significant precedence over the other two texts. It formed the basis for

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[11] *Expo. Euang.*, pp. 135–333.

[12] Sarah L. Higley, *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language. An Edition, Translation, and Discussion* (New York, 2007).

[13] *De reg. Bened.*, pp. 23–97; *Expl. Symb.*, pp. 99–133.

[14] *Symph.*, pp. 335–477; *Ordo*, pp. 503–521.

[15] Hildegard of Bingen, *Vita sanctae Hildegardis: Leben der heiligen Hildegard = Canonizatio Hildegardis: Kanonisation der heiligen Hildegard*. Trans. and ed. Monika Klaes, Fontes christiani. Zweisprachige Neuausgabe christlicher Quellentexte aus Altertum und Mittelalter 29 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1998), p. 278.

the successful endorsement by Pope Eugene III at the Synod of Trier in 1147–1148. In addition, the "Illuminated *Scivias*" serves as the only example of a work produced during Hildegard's lifetime that included illustrations (Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 1, currently lost).

The *Epistolarium* serves as an important supplement to the "visionary trilogy." Hildegard's correspondence was transmitted both in the form of a complete epistolary volume and also as individual texts, which assumed the character of "epistolary tracts." The latter include Hildegard's letter to the clergy of Cologne (see below). The image of Hildegard that arises from the corpus of the visionary texts and the *Epistolarium* is that of a prophet whose authority was accepted by all, and who called upon the faithful to repent, as well as to return to and respect ecclesiastical teachings.

This orthodox, ecclesiastically accentuated image found additional support in texts like the *Vita Hildegardis*, the *Octo lectiones*, and the *Acta canonisationis*.[16] These works functioned to lay the foundation for the planned canonization of Hildegard and as a basis for a liturgical *memoria*. In fact, the designation "Saint Hildegard" quickly entered vernacular usage, and there arose regionally limited forms of veneration. Regardless of this literary output and the repeatedly expressed desires of medieval popes, Hildegard's canonization was not successful until 2012.

Prophetic and Spiritual Works

Among the numerous copies of the visionary works that were created during Hildegard's lifetime, one missing codex should be highlighted, as it was supposedly sent to John of Salisbury (*c.*1115–1180). A student of Abelard, he was considered the most learned man of his time, serving as bishop of Chartres from 1176 until his death. During the conflict between Henry II of England and Thomas Becket, John stood firmly on the side of the latter and was an eyewitness to his murder. In a letter to Gerard la Pucelle, composed around 1166 and included in the epistolary collection of Thomas Becket, John of Salisbury requests a consignment of the *visiones et oracula* by the most famous Hildegard.[17] At the same time, he expressed interest in knowing whether Hildegard had stated anything about the end of the

[16] *Vita Hildegardis* and *Octo Lectiones in festo sanctae Hildegardis legendae*, in *V. Hild.*, pp. 73–80; Hildegard of Bingen, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis: Leben der heiligen Hildegard*.

[17] John of Salisbury, *The Letters.* Eds. William J. Millor and Christopher N. L. Brooke, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1979), Nr. 185, p. 224.

present schism. This request elevated Hildegard to the role of authority on current ecclesiastical politics.

With regard to other contemporary authors, it is impossible to use textual citations to prove a claim, proposed by Joan Gibson, about a possible reception of Hildegard's works within the *Hortus deliciarum* by Herrad of Hohenburg (*c*.1125–1196).[18] Various motifs and parallels in phrasing that Margot Schmidt has found in Hildegard's visionary works and the *Fließendes Licht der Gottheit* by Mechthild of Magdeburg (1210–1285) are likewise problematic.[19] In contrast, it can be proven that Elisabeth of Schönau (1129–1164) was in epistolary contact with Hildegard and that she configured her *Liber uiarum Dei* after the model of Hildegard's *Scivias*.

Apocalyptic excerpts from the *Scivias* (3.11.25–27, 30–32, and 39) appear in a Low German revision of the *Elucidarium* by Honorius Augustodunensis (*c*.1070–*c*.1150).[20] It has been assumed that the borrowings were taken from Gebeno of Eberbach's *Pentachronon*.[21] They indicate monastic reform tendencies in the Windesheimer congregation. The excerpts were compiled at the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th, and provide modern scholars with the earliest example for vernacular reception of the *Scivias*, in this case in lower Germany.

Hildegard's letter to Werner of Kirchheim was also initially propagated via the *Pentachronon*. The letter was translated into German and developed into a prototype for other admonitory writings of this type, that is, the model of a vision received while asleep (*In lectu egritudinis diu iacens*). The German version appears within the context of a collection of prophetic

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[18] Joan Gibson, "Herrad of Hohenburg," in *A History of Women Philosophers*, ed. Mary Ellen Waithe, vol. 2 (Dordrecht, 1989), pp. 85–98. Fiona Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights. Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 2007).

[19] Mechthild von Magdeburg, *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit*. 2nd revised translation with introduction and commentary by Margot Schmidt (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1995), *passim*.

[20] Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Ms 2101, fols 1r–64va. The manuscript originated in the Augustinian monastery of canons regular in Frenswegen and was copied by the lay brother Arnoldus of Almelo in 1468–1469. See Dagmar Gottschall, *Das 'Elucidarium' des Honorius Augustodunensis. Untersuchungen zu seiner Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte im deutschsprachigen Raum mit Ausgabe der niederdeutschen Übersetzung* (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 161–295, especially the passages concerning the *Scivias*, pp. 260–265 and 273. Concerning the identity of Honorius, see Valerie I.J. Flint, "The Chronology of the Works of Honorius of Augustodunensis," *Revue Bénédictine* 82 (1972): 215–42. Valerie I.J. Flint, "The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius of Augustodunensis," *Revue Bénédictine* 87 (1977): 97–127.

[21] *Epistolarium*, II, pp. 333–37.

texts compiled during the reign of Emperor Sigismund (1433–1437) and is also directly linked to a few passages from the *Liber diuinorum operum* (3.5.16, 25, [26]).[22] This additional edition of Hildegard's letter to Werner of Kirchheim appears in the *Kaiser Sigismunds Buch* produced by Eberhard of Windecke (*c.*1380–1440), in which he also ascribes the *Auffahrtabend* (Ascension Evening) text to Hildegard. This latter vision likely originated from among the loose network of Franciscan spirituals; it was recorded around 1293 in Latin and was later ascribed to John of Parma (d. 1289). The subject matter concerns the fate of the Church as corrupted by simony and the threat of extensive oppression by the Roman curia. The *Auffahrtabend* text circulated in abridged form (now known as the *Visio fratris Johannis*), and authorship was attributed to Henry of Langenstein and Emperor Sigismund in addition to Hildegard. The prophecies from Windecke's Sigismund book, including the essay "Von der gerechtikeit," written by Michael Beheim (*c.*1416–1475), were later translated into verse form. The ensuing poem, which extended to 530 stanzas, was written in the so-called *Osterweise*, or Easter-song format. It paraphrases Hildegard's Church politics and expectations regarding the end times.

The "Visions of St Thomas" represent another vision cycle that is linked to the exemplum of a vision received while asleep. This dream vision was produced around 1215 at the Cistercian nunnery of St Thomas on the Kyll (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 771/1350 8°, fols 111v–125r) and presumably modeled after one of Hildegard's visions. The visionary recipient was most likely the second abbess at St Thomas, and the influence of Hildegardian reception appears solely in the form—that is, the literary structure of the prophecy—not in its contents. The "Visions of St Thomas" focus on the fruits of monastic virtues and vices and present a concise compendium of the Cistercian *Cura monialium*. It has been theorized that Hildegard was involved in an exchange of letters with Elisabeth of St Thomas, the founding abbess of the convent.

An important thread to follow in tracing the dissemination of the *Liber vite meritorum* appears in the Dendermonde 9 manuscript, which Angela Carlevaris employed as the lead manuscript in the critical edition of the text. Hildegard herself sent the Dendermonde codex to the abbey of Villers in Brabant, where it was apparently used as reading material for

[22] Manuscript transmission: München, Universitätsbibliothek [University Library], 2° Ms. 684, fols 87r–92r (dated 1465); Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Ms. Q 127, fols 121r–127v (*c.*1460/1470); and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [Bavarian State Library], cgm 523, fols 267ra–273rb (dated 1471).

the monastic *lectio* during meals. The manuscript bears witness to Hildegard's influence among the Cistercians of Brabant. Further, because the Villers Abbey was founded by Bernard of Clairvaux in 1148, the codex can also be considered a physical expression of the high esteem with which Hildegard was held by Bernard's inner circle.

One reform text in particular, which circulated extensively under Hildegard's name, is generally referenced by its incipit, *Quamvis hominis*. It was used by Dietrich of Nieheim, among others. The text concerns the emergence of a *Rex romanorum* and the reformation of the Church during the time of the Great Schism (1378–1418) prior to the Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence (1341–1349).

Traces of Hildegard's influence have also been found in the works by the Strasbourg Dominican John Tauler (*c.*1300–1361). A rumor ascribes to the friar the preface that appeared in the collection of Hildegard's letters published by John Blanckwalt in Cologne in 1566. In addition, Tauler preached a sermon in 1339 to the nuns at the Dominican convent of St Gertrude in which he cited individual images from the *Scivias*.[23] One of the motifs Tauler used in his sermon was subsequently frescoed on the wall of the convent refectory: the enthroned Godhead, which appears in the first vision of the illuminated *Scivias*. Tauler's vernacular sermon also referred to the pericope from Luke 19:5 (*In domo tua oportet me manere*) and serves as a rare example for a history of the reception of the images from the *Scivias*, as opposed to the text. In addition, it also bears witness to the reception of Hildegard's works among German mystics.

The itinerant preacher Henry of Nördlingen (*c.*1310–1387 *post quem non*), one of Tauler's direct contemporaries and acquaintances, also cited the authority of Hildegard, or pseudo-Hildegard, in a letter to the Dominican nun Margareta Ebner (1291–1351) written in 1349. The subject of the letter revolved around the question of whether the "Friends of God" should warn one another about the coming disaster. The context for this debate was a contemporaneous outbreak of bubonic plague. Henry invoked pseudo-Hildegard and affirmed that those with information should warn others about a calamity that threatened. A text with the rubric, *Vom Tod und letzten Gericht*, held by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2739, fols 195v–200r) likewise appeals to pseudo-Hildegard for authority. The Low German work sketches out the specific types of death

[23] Jeffrey Hamburger, *Bücher der Menschheit. Johannes Tauler über den Scivias Hildegards von Bingen*, trans. Michael Embach and Christoph Gerhardt, 2nd ed. (Trier, 2007).

that will afflict the four different types of humanity, information that Hildegard of Bingen supposedly received in a vision. Within the genre of the *Ars moriendi* literature, this work offers the earliest example of the appearance of the devil at the hour of an individual's death. The same manuscript holds an additional text ascribed to Hildegard, "Wie man den Weg des geistlichen Lebens einschlagen soll" ("How one should pursue the path of religious life" [Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2739, fols 167vb–168vb]). This latter work was also widely disseminated as an incunabulum (Leipzig, 1498) and as an early printed text (Augsburg, 1508; Cologne, 1543).

A characteristic example for Hildegard reception appears in the context of the Sibylline prophecies, as represented by the *Sibyllen-Lied* composed around 1320/1321. This genre follows the tradition of classical, biblical, and patristic prophecies about the end of the world and the Last Judgement. Thus, the text concerns prophecies of doom, which were traditionally communicated by women. In the fourth stanza, the Sibyl, who has been engaged in a dialogue with King Solomon, answers a question about the final ruler of the realm in which she curiously refers to Hildegard. As no specific source is mentioned, this presumably refers to a visionary whose visions typically concerned the end of time, and who appeared to be using the name Hildegard. Individual passages from this text, among them the references to "Hildegard," reappear in yet another poem of this type, the *Sibyllen-Weissagung*, composed between 1360 and 1378 in the Rhenish Franconian region. This later work remains extant in approximately 40 manuscripts and 30 print editions published prior to 1640. The first edition of the *Sibyllen-Weissagung* was published by Gutenberg's printing shop and represents the earliest printed text in the German language. The *Oberrheinische Chronik* and the *Konstanzer Weltchronik*, both composed in German and the latter including information up to the year 1383, also include Sibylline contents with reference to Hildegard.

In 1383, Magister Henry of Langenstein composed *De schismate*, a tract in epistolary form, which he then addressed to Eckard of Ders (ruled 1371–1405), bishop of Worms. In this text, Henry compiled everything that Hildegard had written that could be deployed in an attempt to rectify his own, confused time (the Avignon papacy). Henry interpreted Hildegard's prophecies through the lens of the "Great Schism" and proclaimed the imminent appearance of the Antichrist. This representation of the narrative follows the model in which the course of events is steadily deteriorating, and Hildegard appears as the Sibyl of the Germans. In another letter to Bishop Eckard, written the following year, Henry of Langenstein comforts the bishop about the death of his brother and compares Hildegard's

prophecies of the end times with those of Joachim of Fiore. Both prophetic authors describe a period of reform in the Church prior to the appearance of the Antichrist. Henry also mentions Hildegard in a sermon, *Sermo de ascensione Domini*, which he delivered in Vienna on Ascension Day in 1390. In this case, he compares Hildegard with Methodius of Olympus and positions her within a series of other (nameless) sibyls. The Hildegard excerpts employed by Henry of Langenstein are of importance to modern scholars because they demonstrate a familiarity with Hildegard's writings that extends beyond the *Pentachronon* compiled by Gebeno of Eberbach.

The same can be said about Dietrich of Nieheim (*c.*1340–1418), a notary to the papal chancery and ecclesio-political author. Dietrich employed texts from the *Pentachronon* as well as from Hildegard's original works in his *Privilegia aut iura imperii circa investituras episcoporum et abbatum*, written in 1413–1414. Proof of the high degree of appreciation in which Dietrich of Nieheim held Hildegard can be established from a visit he made to the visionary's grave, presumably around 1408/1409. He later claimed that it was during this time that he became familiar with Hildegard's writings. However, it has been assumed that Dietrich did not have his copies prepared at the Rupertsberg, but instead in Italy. In his *Privilegia*, Dietrich presents his own view that the empire has declined during the previous two centuries, as evidenced by the position of the House of Luxembourg, and finds confirmation for this perception of events in one of Hildegard's prophecies. Dietrich's major themes, which he holds up to the newly crowned Hapsburg emperor as a *Mirror of Princes*, concern the schism, conciliarism, the need for reform in both the Church and the empire, and also a revival of crusading ideology.

An interesting document in relation to the history of influence exerted by the "Illuminated *Scivias*" appears in the *Adamas colluctancium aquilarum* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. Lat. 412), written by Winand of Steeg (1371–1453), a jurist and author of ecclesiastical texts who also contributed to the 55 ink wash drawings. The *Adamas* is considered to be a mystical-allegorical work of symbolic nature. Winand describes the manifestations of the Church by means of its temporal controversies. His own era (the years of the Council of Constance, 1414–1418) was, according to him, marked by heresy, schism, and simony. Within his text, Winand includes a seven-page quotation from Hildegard's *Scivias* (2. 3.1–16), in which four illustrations appear, composed in the tradition of the "Illuminated *Scivias*." They take quite a few liberties with the original and are characterized by anti-Semitic tendencies. This dovetails with the fact

that Winand was the driving force behind the canonization process of Werner of Oberwesel (also Werner of Bacharach or Werner of Womrath, 1271–1287), whom legend held to be a victim of Jewish ritual murder—an accusation that led to intense anti-Jewish pogroms along the Middle Rhine.

A poem about the end times that was composed around 1470 in Darmstadt, the *Darmstädter Gedicht über das Weltende* (Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Cod. 2194), should also be numbered among the apocalyptic texts inspired by Hildegard. The text, a type of eschatological poetry about the Last Judgement, programmatically invokes Hildegard as an authority, but does so without specifying any particular text or source.

Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516), abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Sponheim, is of particular importance in the history of Hildegard's influence.[24] He arranged for the copying of the Riesenkodex (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 15102) and treated Hildegard's writings in numerous hagiographic and literary-historical texts of his own. The inclination that Trithemius pursued in these endeavors is twofold: he desired to represent Hildegard within the history of the county of Sponheim and simultaneously emphasize her importance for the Benedictine order in general. In pursuit of these goals, Trithemius was willing to employ fictional events: in his *Chronica in signis monasterii Hirsaugiensis* and his *Chronicon monasterii Sponheimensis*, he depicted a visit by Bernard of Clairvaux to Hildegard's monastery on the Rupertsberg and also recorded the dialogue that supposedly took place between the two religious figures. Although such a meeting never occurred, Trithemius's depiction achieved a broad, uplifting reevaluation of Hildegard through his use of the most important clerical authority of the 12th century, Bernard of Clairvaux. More valuable to modern scholars is Trithemius's extensive listing of Hildegard's texts, which he compiled in his work from 1494, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, which also includes incipits to some of the texts. Of ultimate importance is the fact that Trithemius was a witness to the opening of Hildegard's grave in 1498 and participated in the *elevatio corporis*, the translation of her bones, which was equivalent to an informal canonization. From this occasion, Trithemius composed a sequence entitled *In solemnitate Sanctae Hildegardis*, which is extant in both prose and verse forms, and was

[24] Michael Embach, "Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) als Propagator Hildegards von Bingen," in *Umfeld*, pp. 561–98. Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen*, pp. 458–91.

supposed to lay the foundation for the liturgical *memoria Hildegardis* at the Rupertsberg.

Hildegard's Letter to the Clerics of Cologne

Among Hildegard's writings, her letter to the clerics of Cologne has its own history of influence. This text concerns an ecclesiastical speech that Hildegard gave during her preaching in that city (1161/1163).[25] Whether Hildegard offered her sermons in Latin, as Loris Sturlese assumes, or in the vernacular is a topic that requires further investigation.[26] The letter to the clerics of Cologne was included in the *Pentachronon* and also circulated independently from this tradition. Konrad Bund lists a total of 37 extant manuscripts and other textual witnesses.[27] The text is a harangue directed at the shepherds of the Church and structured as a sermon. According to the letter, the clerics are menaced by severe punishments in the afterlife due to their erroneous teachings to their congregations; at the end of the text, however, the clergics appear reformed. In addition to criticism of the clerics, the letter contains sections directed against the Cathar heresy and about the end times.[28] At the end of the 13th century, the letter was also interpreted as a plea against the powerfully ambitious mendicant orders. In these latter cases, the specific references to Cologne were suppressed, which provided the text with a broader, more generalized validity. The letter to the clerics of Cologne also developed its own influence, beginning with its use in the *vita* of Engelbert of Berg, archbishop of Cologne, which was composed by Caesarius of Heisterbach (*c.*1180–1240). Caesarius performs a rededication of the letter, transforming it from an anti-heretical text to a tract directed against the mendicant orders. Hildegard's text, with this new emphasis, remained relevant into the 16th century.

An interesting trace left by its reception appears in a poetic version composed by the English court poet Henry of Avranches (*c.*1191–1260). The text remains extant in only one manuscript (Cambridge, Library of the

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[25] On the notion of Hildegard's preaching tours, see *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 47–55.

[26] Loris Sturlese, *Die deutsche Philosophie im Mittelalter. Von Bonifatius bis zu Albert dem Großen 748–1280* (Munich, 1993), p. 207, footnote 65.

[27] Konrad Bund, "Die 'Prophetin', ein Dichter und die Niederlassung der Bettelorden in Köln. Der Brief der Hildegard von Bingen an den Kölner Klerus und das Gedicht 'Prophetia Sanctae Hyldegardis de Novis Fratribus' des Magisters Heinrich von Avranches," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (1988): 171–260.

[28] *Speaking New Mysteries*, pp. 260–62.

University, Ms. Dd. XI. 78, fols 51r–57v), and it has been assumed that it was added to the work by the English Benedictine Matthew Paris sometime between 1245 and 1250. The composition dates, the client who commissioned the work, and the occasion for its creation are unknown. Due to the previously noted interpolations by others, Hildegard's text retains its anti-mendicant focus within Henry of Avranches's poem.

It should also be noted at this point that William of St Amour (d. 1272), the leader of anti-mendicant sentiment in Paris, refers back to Hildegard's letter to the clergy of Cologne in his *Tractatus brevis de periculis novissorum temporum* in order to vilify the friars. However, the *Tractatus brevis* itself was condemned by a papal bull, *Romanus Pontifex*, promulgated by Pope Alexander IV on October 5, 1256. The chronicles written by John of Oxnead, near the Benedictine abbey St Bent's at Holme in Norfolk (around 1255), and by Richer of Sens (around 1270) follow the same path. Richer's chronicle is of particular interest, because Richer also learned about Hildegard's prophetic and medical texts while in Strasbourg.

The mendicant side of the argument was represented by John Peckham (*c.*1230–1291), a Franciscan who took literary action against Hildegard and her ostensible criticism of the friars in his tract, *Pro paupertate contra Willelmum de St. Amore*, composed around 1270. He disqualifies Hildegard *ipso facto* from making such statements, and he further determines (in a singular estimation in the reception history) that her text was inspired by the devil (*ex diaboli astutia processisse*, pp. 76–77). Peckham, who was elevated to archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England, proffers the single example of a negative reception of Hildegard within the context of the Mendicant Controversy. Peckham's statements must be placed in context with the rebuttal of various anti-Franciscan writings that, for their part, reference Hildegard.

Insurgent gentes

An independent influence exerted by Hildegard's letter to the clerics of Cologne is confirmed by the anonymous poem *Insurgent gentes*. This pseudo-Hildegardian text was composed in the middle of the 13th century, probably by someone associated with William of St Amour. The text can be read as one of an entire series of anti-mendicant statements that endeavored to denigrate the friars and defame them as instruments of the devil. Writings of this type became common in the second half of the 13th century and circulated well into the 15th century, primarily in England and France. Authors in this tradition, who referenced Hildegard of Bingen

as an authority, include, among others: William Langland (*c.*1325–1388), Geoffrey Chaucer (*c.*1340–1400), John Gower (*c.*1330–1408), the anonymous author of the Lollard texts *Jack Upland* and *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, Henry of Kirkstede, Thomas Wimbledon (wrote around 1380), Peter Pateshull (active around 1387), Peter Partridge, William Taylor (composed texts around 1406), William Dunbar (*c.*1460–1520), Robert Henryson (wrote around 1470), Reginald Pecock (15th century), Richard Fitzralph, and John Wyclif (*c.*1320–1384). They all cite either Hildegard as known from the *Pentachronon*, the great historiographical work of that time, or from her original texts themselves. Of the authors who wrote in the vernacular, William Langland evinces a more in-depth interest in Hildegard.

In addition, in the period around the turn of the 15th century, Hildegard's reception was able to develop an independent tradition of socially reforming apocalyptic thought that did not owe its existence to Joachim of Fiore. Wyclif, for example, employs multiple citations in reference to *Insurgent gentes*. In this case, I am referring specifically to *De fundatione sectarum*, yet one also finds critical statements in his other writings. The enduring character of the history of influence exerted by *Insurgent gentes* can be seen in the works by Thomas More (1478–1535): More makes Hildegard into the ship's figurehead, who indicates the direction of anti-heretical belief in his work *The Supplication of Souls*.

The Baroque author Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) copied *Insurgent gentes*, evidence of further influence in the Dutch-speaking areas. A translation of *Insurgent gentes* into the vernacular serves as evidence that the text continued to exercise influence in Germany. Count Wilhelm of Isenburg (*c.*1470–1532), a Teutonic Knight, translated the text, which was published in 1532 in Cologne under the title *Widerlegung der falschen beschuldigung . . . Item ein prophecey S. Hildegardis von dem Bettelorden*. Following a personal encounter with Martin Luther, Isenburg harbored a great deal of sympathy for the Reform. Even though he did not convert to the new teachings, he was fiercely attacked by the Dominicans and the Discalced Friars in Cologne. Isenburg deployed Hildegard's alleged prophecy in a type of prototypical balancing of spiritual accounts with the hated mendicants.

Other Pseudepigraphical and Polemical Literature

Scholarship up until now has almost completely ignored several texts that were composed between the 16th and 18th centuries and based on the *Scivias* or one of Hildegard's other visionary texts, primarily because they

cannot be considered standard editions or even partial editions of these works. The texts from the 16th century in particular appear to be caught between the priorities of Humanism and the Reformation. It is significant that Hildegard's criticism of the papacy and the Church, written in the 12th century, was transferred to the early modern period. The adaptations by Lutheran theologians go so far as to present Hildegard as a spiritual antecedent to Luther. I am thinking here of Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575) and Andreas Osiander (1498–1552).

John Tortsch (*c.*1400–1445), a theologian from Leipzig, compiled a text that included a reworking of various texts by Birgitta of Sweden (1303–1373). The Latin text was titled *Onus mundi* and only appeared in a print edition four years after the German edition, *Bürde der Welt*, which was translated in 1434 and was printed in 1481 in Nuremberg and 1482 in Augsburg. The fact that a text consisting of revelations, admonitions, and suggestions for reform was translated so early into German indicates that there was a strong lay reception for such works. The earliest version appears in manuscript 521 held by the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge. The *Bürde der Welt* is significant for scholarship on the history of Hildegard's influence because the text includes references to several authorities who precede Birgitta of Sweden, including Hildegard. Together with Sybille, Gregory the Great, and Joachim of Fiore, Hildegard's visions are claimed to support Birgitta's statements. The Hildegard material includes the letter to Werner of Kirchheim as well as selections from the *Liber diuinorum operum* (2.1.9).

In the wake of the *Onus mundi*, Berthold Pirstinger (Puerstinger), bishop of Chiemsee and suffragan bishop of Salzburg, published the *Onus ecclesiae* in 1524. In addition to other authors, he also cited Hildegard of Bingen.

In 1527, the print shop of Hieronymus Andreae published a German text by the former Augustinian hermit turned Protestant preacher Andreas Osiander titled *Sant Hildegardten Weissagung uber die Papisten und genanten Geystlichen*. Osiander reported that he had found Hildegard's prophecies in the Carthusian monastery in Nuremberg. Indeed, in the 15th century, several monasteries in Nuremberg owned various works by Hildegard: from the catalogue of the Dominican nunnery of St Katherina, "Item, ein puch, das helt in sant Hiltgarten weißsagung"; the Benedictine nuns of St Aegidien held the "Revelacio Hildegardis de malis pastoribus"; and the church library at the St Sebaldus church included a text titled "De prophecia Hildegardis multa." The content of Osiander's text deals with prophetic-ascetic exhortations to the "popish" clergy, whom Osian-

der represented as "flaccid." Hildegard's letter to Werner of Kirchheim and portions from the *Liber diuinorum operum* (3.5.16) form the authentic foundation of his work. The excerpt from the *Liber diuinorum operum* describes the corrupt state of the clergy during the era of the fiery dog and announces a powerful change in the order of things. Osiander's text appeared in a second edition, printed in 1527 by Georg Rhau in Wittenberg. A reprint of this second edition was prepared in the same year by Gabriel Kantz in Zwickau. From the textual references, it appears that Osiander's text was probably based on the *Pentachronon*, which further indicates that the vernacular reception of Hildegard's visionary works was essentially founded on the *Pentachronon*.

In 1529, Hieronymus Gebwiller (1473–1545), the director of the famous humanist school in Sélestat, published *De Praesenti Clericorum tribulatione, futurorumque Temporum eventu, Divae Hildegardis Prophetiarum seu Divinarum revelationum libellus* through the print shop of Wilhelm Seltz in Hagenau. Gebwiller, who remained Catholic during the Reformation, defended the position of Catholic belief against the Protestants in this text, while simultaneously criticizing the decadence of the Catholic clergy and pronouncing severe punishments to be meted out in the hereafter. He cited Hildegard of Bingen to buttress his position. The tenor of the writings, compiled based on the *Pentachronon*, is unambiguous: if priests and monks perform penance, the Church will not perish, regardless of persecutions and heresies. Hildegard emerges as a reference figure for an open, yet generally conservative, reformed Catholicism. Together with examples from the Old Testament, Methodius, Birgitta of Sweden, and other prophetic figures, Hildegard advances as the prevailing authority for his own, confused time. One could, in a certain light, consider Gebwiller's text as representative of the first, printed edition of the *Pentachronon*.

Matthias Flacius Illyricus is considered to be the most important follower of Martin Luther in the 16th century. Around 1550 he published the text *Duae veteres prophetiae de pie ecclesiae instauratione, ad nostra tempora pertinentes* at the print shop of Michael Lotter in Magdeburg. One of the two prophecies included, a reworked excerpt from the *Liber diuinorum operum* (3.5.25–26), styles Hildegard as a predecessor of Martin Luther, in that Hildegard predicted the downfall of the papal Church in a vision. Flacius Illyricus cites the *Alphabetica sylva locorum communium* ("Rapularius"), written by Henry Toke (*c*.1390–1454), the cathedral priest in Magdeburg and participant at the Council of Basel, as the source for his Hildegard texts. Toke, for his part, criticizes the misuse of indulgences, faults of the Roman curia, and the decline of the monasteries in his text.

In addition, he places the council above the Pope in authority. Flacius Illyricus also cites Hildegard in his *Catalogus testium veritatis*, which he published in Basel in 1567. This work claims to prove that the concerns voiced during the Reformation were current in all other times. Although particular emphasis was placed on Hildegard's criticisms directed at the Pope and the Church, the mendicants were exposed to biting critique and were indeed vilified as Judas's new allies, *novos Iuda socios*.

Annals and Chronicles

Of great importance in the history of Hildegard's influence was her consideration within the context of the historiographical works of the medieval and early modern periods. Even within her lifetime, she was cited in the chronicle titled *Ex chronica quod dicitur Willelmi Godelli*.[29] The anonymous author of the text was a Cistercian who lived at least for a while in the abbey of Saint-Léonard de Corbigny in the diocese of Autun. Over the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, the chronicle was erroneously ascribed to William Goddell, a monk at the abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges. In 1172, William Goddell undertook a journey to the Rhine valley, over the course of which he also visited Hildegard of Bingen. He described her as a woman in her 60s, to whom grace had been granted in such abundance that she often entered into an ecstatic trance. He also characterized her as an uneducated laywoman (*laica et illiterata*) who nevertheless dictated her writings in Latin.

Albert of Stade (d. after 1264) based his *Annales Stadenses* on the *Pentachronon*. His statements about Hildegard are particularly interesting because Albert was an author who switched sides from the Benedictines to the Franciscans following a failed attempt at reform. According to Albert, the very fact that Hildegard was a woman—and one without any standardized education—yet still wrote books and letters served as proof in his eyes that her visions were of supernatural origin. He attributed no eschatological meaning to her warnings about heretics. He extensively cites her prophesies about the last days from the *Scivias* (3.11); however, he does not interpret them in any concrete, historical manner. In contrast, he takes Hildegard's criticisms about the clergy literally, exactly as they appear in the *Liber diuinorum operum* (3.5.16). At this point, the Franciscan

[29] *Chronicon dicitur Godellus*, ed. Otto Holder-Egger. MGH SS 26 (Hannover 1882), pp. 195–98.

ideal of poverty connects with Hildegard's conservative conception of the world as it should be ordered.

In addition, around 1250, while Albert was reworking the commentary on the *Apocalypse* by (pseudo-) Alexander Minorita, he inserted long quotations from Hildegard's works into Minorita's text. The tendency, characteristic of failed reformers, appears once again: perceiving one's own time as occurring under the sign of the beginning of the last days. According to Albert, the influence of the Antichrist was already present. Similar evaluations of Hildegard as a person also appear in the *Chronicon* by Robert of Auxerre, written between 1198 and 1207, and the *Speculum historiale*, which chronicled the years up to 1250, authored by Vincent of Beauvais (*c.*1184/1194–1264).

The Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach (*c.*1180–1240) quoted Hildegard in the context of a virulent, anti-Franciscan polemic. His *Vita Sancti Engelberti* and his *Osterhomilie* also contain corresponding quotations. The *Easter Homily*, written around 1225, quotes substantial excerpts from Hildegard's letter to the clergy of Cologne, whose specific history of influence was examined earlier.

Praepositinus (Gilbert Prevostin) of Cremona (1130/1135–1210), *magister scholarum* of the cathedral school in Mainz and later chancellor of the University of Paris, likewise mentions Hildegard in his treatises. It is notably significant, however, that Praepositinus's early scholasticism, informed as it was by Aristotelianism, can no longer adequately handle Hildegard's light metaphors with their pictorially abstract-rational orientation. Friedhelm Jürgensmeier reads into this instant an expression of the coming paradigm shift, which will provide the most important reason behind the deterioration of Hildegard's importance in the 13th century.[30]

Matthew Paris (*c.*1200–1259), the English Benedictine and chronicler at the Northumbrian abbey of St Albans, also showed an interest in Hildegard of Bingen in his *Chronica maiora*. He recognizes symptoms of decline and the beginning of the end times in the rapid emergence of the mendicants, calling upon Hildegard in his criticisms. According to Paris, she had predicted the rise of the mendicant orders many years previously; however, he expends no ink on her other prophecies. John of Wallingford, likewise a monk at St Albans for a few years, also employs references to

[30] Friedhelm Jürgensmeier, "St. Hildegard 'Prophetissa Teutonica,'" in *Hildegard von Bingen 1179–1979. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen*, ed. Anton Brück, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 33 (Mainz, 1979; reprint Mainz, 1998), pp. 273–93.

Hildegard in his world chronicle, which is largely based on that of Matthew Paris. The same is true for Richer of Sens (d. *c.*1267) and also for the anonymous continuator of Matthew Paris's *Flores historiarum*. The latter cites Hildegard's letter to Philip of Heinsberg, cathedral deacon in Cologne, in which the oppression of the Benedictine monasteries by a new Order is predicted.

Some of Hildegard's prophecies that did *not* relate to the end of the world gained entry into the *Chronica Sancti Pantaleonis*, in a continuation of the *Gesta Treverorum*, and also in the *Chronica* by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (d. after 1251). Based on the last reference, Martin Haeusler draws the conclusion that Hildegard's authority as a prophet was obviously still an effective force, "particularly among conservative, monastic circles."[31]

A curious document within the history of Hildegard's 13th-century reception appears in the anonymous continuation of the chronicle begun by Magnus of Reichersberg (d. 1195). The unknown author sees the fulfillment of a *vaticinium*, which he ascribes to Hildegard, in the victory of Rudolf I of Hapsburg over Otakar following the Battle on the Marchfeld (1278).

An *Expositio super Apocalypsim*, composed around 1305/1306 and ascribed to (pseudo-) Arnaldus of Villanova (*c.*1240–1311) from Catalonia, mentions Hildegard of Bingen in addition to an Abbot Joachim (of Fiore?) and Cyril of Constantinople. (pseudo-) Arnaldus thus proffers an important indication about Hildegard's history of influence in the Franco-Spanish border region. The French Dominican John of Paris, called Quidort (d. 1306), was also active within (pseudo-) Arnaldus's circle of discussants. Quidort is considered to be a speculatively gifted thinker and an important representative of the Thomistic School in Paris. He also refers to Hildegard in his treatise on the Antichrist; however, he presents her as a Cistercian from the Brabant region. Like (pseudo-) Arnaldus, Quidort also refrains from citing a date or concrete time frame for the appearance of the Antichrist, a fact that also pertains to Henry Harclay (*c.*1270–1317), who served as Chancellor of the University of Oxford beginning in 1312. Harclay represented the interests of his university against the Dominicans at the Papal court in Avignon; theologically he appears among those who opposed Thomas Aquinas and the disciples of Duns Scotus. In his text *Utrum astrologi vel quicumque calculatores possint probare secundum*

[31] Martin Haeusler, *Das Ende der Geschichte in der mittelalterlichen Weltchronistik* (Cologne, 1980), p. 65.

adventum Christi, Harclay declares that if the apostles and prophets had been unable to predict the return of Christ, then it was even less likely that mere poets would succeed in this endeavor. He counts Joachim of Fiore, the Erythraean Sibyl, Hildegard of Bingen, and Ovid among these poets. He further characterizes Hildegard as a *monialis teutonica* who had written many books and letters, and who had engaged with the entire world in epistolary discourse. He explicitly cites the *Scivias* as a work that Bernard of Clairvaux had esteemed and which he had kept in his library. By citing *Scivias* (3.11), Harclay emphasizes that the poets were correct in their reticence to define a time frame for the end times.

A French Franciscan, John of Rupescissa, also cites Hildegard as a prophetic authority. In his *Vademecum in tribulatione*, composed in 1356 and later translated into German, he prophesied the persecution and reform of the debauched clergy, the return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome, a Last Emperor of France, and also a thousand-year empire of peace. Similar to Joachim of Fiore, John of Rupescissa did not want to be considered a prophet, but instead preferred to be understood as a scientist and exegete. His deep respect for Hildegard appears in his text: he calls her *sancta . . . prophetissa* and describes her as a *contemporanea S. Bernardi Clarevallensi & eius amica*. In addition, he claims that Pope Eugene III canonized (*canonizavit*) Hildegard's books at the Provincial Council in Trier.

Henry the Dove (d. 1364), who would ultimately become the head of the episcopal chancellery in Eichstätt, appears to have been directly influenced by John of Rupescissa. Henry had studied law in Bologna, and he appears to have spent quite some time in Avignon following a visit to Rome in the Jubilee year of 1350. As a chronicler, Henry continued the *Flores temporum*, a text that links papal and imperial histories. Henry had learned of John of Rupescissa's *Vademecum* while the former was in Avignon, and he transferred large portions of the latter's prophecies about the last days into his chronicle. While he never explicitly names Hildegard, his work appears to be at least indirectly based on her visions. In the mid 15th century, Henry's writings were used by two Nuremberg chroniclers, John Plattenberger (d. after 1479) and Theoderich (Dietrich) Truchsess (d. 1467) within their universal history, the *Excerpta chronicarum*. They subsequently exerted an indirect influence on Sigmund Meisterlin (*c.*1435–1497) and his *Nürnberger Chronik*, as well as Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), whose universal history, the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, appeared in 1493. The latter included his own entry about Hildegard of Bingen, which contained a stereotyped pictorial image: Hildegard appears with a

saint's nimbus and holding a martyr's palm, demonstrating a high degree of fictionality.

Another chronicler who mentions Hildegard is Martin of Troppau (d. 1278), a Dominican whose *Chronicon* serves as the starting point for the corresponding entry in Johannes Lonus de Ypra's *Chronica monasterii Sancti Bertini*.

Hildegard's role within the universal histories composed during the medieval period becomes clearly manifest in the *Liber de rebus memorabilibus sive Chronicon*, written by Henry of Herford, OP (documented between 1326 and 1370). His chronicle, which extends up to the year 1355, shows the influence of Vincent of Beauvais; although he shows an interest in Joachim of Fiore and Hildegard of Bingen, he expresses a correspondingly more skeptical attitude. Hildegard is indeed cited, yet only according to the *Pentachronon*, and Henry does not quote any of the prophetic sections, confining himself to some biographical material and Hildegard's epistolary exchange with Bernard of Clairvaux. At another point, he deploys Hildegard's saying about the *tempus muliebre*, which Vincent of Beauvais had also quoted from the *Pentachronon*. However, since Henry altered Hildegard's seasonal references and did not indicate a beginning for the *tempus muliebre*, the prophecy loses its meaning here. The reason for the circumspect use of Hildegard's prophecies, which is even more evident in his treatment of Joachim of Fiore, appears to lie in Henry's reluctance to posit any speculation about the imminent end of the world.

An additional witness to Hildegard's presence within the universal histories written in the later Middle Ages appears in the *Mare historiarum*, composed around 1340 by the Dominican John Colonna (*c*.1298–1343), who resided in Avignon around 1330 and is famous for his friendship with Petrarch. The heading *De Hildegarde prophetissa Theutonice* appears over a tabular outline of the material that he had edited. The text itself, however, does not appear to have ever been published.

An interesting trace of Hildegard's history of influence appears in the text composed by Michael De Leone (*c*.1330–1355), *De cronicis temporum modernorum hominum*. This involves a versified prophecy, purportedly envisioned by Hildegard, which is linked in the work to the phenomenon of the penitents and flagellants. The verses themselves were composed by a contemporary of Michael and attributed to Hildegard in order to gain greater authority for the text. The poem appears chronologically between Michael's report about the penitents appearing in Würzburg on May 2, 1349, and Pope Clement VI's bull about the flagellants, which was

promulgated on October 20 of the same year. Andreas of Zirkenbach, who is attested as the vicar of the cathedral between 1351 and 1358, is considered to be the most likely author. This prophecy can be found in a manuscript held by the university library in Würzburg (UB Würzburg, M. p. misc. F. 6, fols 35v–36v), where it appears in combination with three authentic Hildegardian prophecies from the *Liber diuinorum operum* (3.6.16, 25–26), as well as Hildegard's letter to Werner of Kirchheim. All three authentic texts refer to the future status of the realm and the clergy.

It would be impossible to document exhaustively the abundance of references and quotations from Hildegard's writings within the historiographic literature composed in the Middle Ages within the context of this overview. The following list includes further literary witnesses to Hildegard's history of influence; however, an extensive evaluation remains beyond the scope of this outline:

- Theodorus monachus: *Annales Palidenses* (monastery near Hildesheim, composed 1182?). (MGH SS 16). Hannover, 1859, pp. 48–98, dated here as 1158, see: p. 90, ll. 26–30.
- *Annales et notae Scheftlarienses maiores a. 1092–1247* (composed *c.*1240). Ed. Ph. Jaffé (MGH SS 17). Hannover, 1861, pp. 335–43, dated here as 1229, see: p. 339, l. 13f.
- *Annales Sancti Disibodi anno 891–1200*. (MGH SS 17). Hannover, 1861, pp. 4–30, dated here as 1136, see: p. 25, ll. 12–15.
- Christian of Mainz: *Liber de calamitate ecclesiae moguntinae* [Chronica of Christian of Mainz, 1249–1253]. (MGH SS 25). Hannover, 1880, pp. 236–48, esp. p. 243, ll. 19–22.
- *Annales Zwiefaltienses* (composed in the 14th century). (MGH SS 10). Hannover, 1852, pp. 64–92, dated here as 1142, see: p. 56, l. 24f.
- *Annalium Sancti Blasii Brunsvicensium maiorum fragmenta* (14th century). (MGH 30, 1). Hannover, 1896, pp. 16–19, dated here as 1155, see: p. 19, l. 19f.
- Levold of Northof: *Die Chronik der Grafen of Mark* (composed ca. 1350–1359). (MGH SS Rerum Germanicarum. N.S. VI). Berlin, 1929, dated here as 1149, see: p. 22, ll. 16–18.
- Johannes Lonus de Ypra (d. 1383): *Chronica monasterii Sancti Bertini* (MGH SS 25). Hannover, 1880, pp. 736–866, esp. p. 801, ll. 47–49.
- *Annales Marbacenses* (Marbach in Obermorschwihr, Alsace, composed 1375–1380). (MGH SS 17). Hannover, 1861, pp. 142–182, dated here as 1332, see: p. 79, ll. 23–25.

- Jacobus de Guisia: *Annales historiae illustrium principum Hanoniae* (composed *c.*1400–1414). (MGH SS 30) Hannover, 1896, pp. 44–334, dated here as 1165, see p. 221, ll. 9–14.
- Thomas Eberndorfer (1388–1464): *Chronica Pontificum Romanorum* (composed *c.*1458–1464). (MGH SS Rerum Germanicarum. N.S. vol. 16). Munich, 1994, dated here as 1148/1152, see: p. 384, ll. 9–16.

Medical and Scientific Works

In her *Liber vite meritorum*, Hildegard mentions only a single medical or scientific text, the *Liber subtilitatum diuersarum naturarum creaturarum*. This work, for which there is no textual evidence from the author's lifetime, apparently was divided between 1179 and *c.*1220 into two separate texts. It is possible that the division resulted from efforts to represent Hildegard with a more subtle profile as a healer within the context of the planned canonization proceedings. In any case, the *Acta canonisationis* and the *Pentachronon* both cite two, separate works: the *Liber simplicis medicinae* (*Physica*) and the *Liber compositae medicinae* (*Cause et cure* [*Cause*]). Hildegard herself referred to the *Liber subtilitatum diuersarum* as a *visio*, thereby elevating it to the same status as her visionary works.

In contrast to the visionary texts, no manuscripts of the scientific works exist that can be closely linked with the author herself: the earliest extant manuscripts were written in the second half of the 13th century. These include the manuscripts in Copenhagen (Kongelike Bibliotek, Ny kgl. 90b 2° [*Cause*]) and Florence (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashb. 1323 [*Physica*]). Both manuscripts originated in Trier: the *Cause* was copied in St Maximin's abbey, while the *Physica* was created in the abbey of Sts Eucharius and Matthias. As has already been demonstrated in the copious transmission of the visionary texts, Trier and its important Benedictine monasteries appear again as a powerful center for the cultivation of Hildegard's *auctoritas*.

There are, however, differences: the *Cause* contains more non-Hildegardian material than the *Physica*, and the medical and scientific works have a far more sparsely documented manuscript transmission. The *Physica* exists in five complete texts and eight fragments, while the *Cause* is attested in one complete and one fragmentary manuscript.[32] A connection

[32] Individual citations can be found in: Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen*, pp. 307–62 and 374–85.

between the visionary and scientific texts is to be seen in the as yet under-researched "Berliner Fragment" (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 674), which contains on fol. 103ra–va a portion of the *Cause* that predates the oldest complete manuscript, that held by Copenhagen. The "Fragment" was written by the same scribe who copied the so-called Lucca-Codex (Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, Cod. 1942), an illuminated copy of the *Liber diu*. written around 1220/1230. Both manuscripts thus stand in a close context to the planned canonization proceedings.

The medical texts are also of great significance in tracing the Hildegard's reception in the vernacular. An important record of the German reception of the *Physica* appears in an herbal entitled the "Speyerer Kräuterbuch," currently in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. F. 817). The manuscript, which was copied in Speyer in 1456, contains the *Praefatio* as well as a part of the *Liber de herbis* from the *Physica*, translated into Middle High German. Manuscripts in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cod. lat. 6952 [appendix]) and Augsburg (Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III, 1 f. 43) also include German translations of the *Physica*. Both of these latter manuscripts were copied in the 15th century. However, German technical terms also already appear in the oldest extant textual witness to the *Physica*, Florentine Ms. 1942, supposedly from *c*.1292.

Roswitha Wisniewski's theory that Hildegard's *Liber simplicis medicinae* influenced medical descriptions in the *Parzival* by Wolfram of Eschenbach (*c*.1170/1180–1220) has to be rejected. According to Wisniewski, Wolfram took the episode about the carbuncle that grows beneath the unicorn's horn (*Parzival*, book 9, 482,24–483,4) from Hildegard's *Physica* (*De animalibus*, chapter 5). However, no connection between Wolfram and Hildegard has been proven, either from direct citation or from the appearance of Hildegard's name in Wolfram's work.

A less concrete connection appears in a statement by Richer of Sens in his *Chronica*. Richer claims to have seen a medical text by Hildegard, a *Liber medicinalis ad diversas infirmitates*, while visiting Strasbourg in 1254; however, he offers no further description of this work. In 1292, Matthew of Westminster mentions the *Cause*, calling it *Liber compositae medicina de aegritudines causis, signis et curis*. Whether this refers to the volume that Bruno, a canon at Strasbourg, produced at the Rupertsberg, a copy of which is mentioned in the *Acta canonisationis*, remains unclear. Were this the case, then the manuscript Matthew referred to (or a copy thereof) could also be the missing prototype for the Strasbourg *editio princeps*, published in 1533. Johannes Trithemius does not incorporate the scientific

works in his comprehensive copies of Hildegard's texts; however, he does include them, with incipits, in his bibliographic compendia. Proof that manuscript losses have to be accepted and accounted for appears in the library catalogue written in 1372 by a certain Augustine of York, which cites the *Tractatus simplicis medicine secundum Hildeg.*, which is currently missing. Another lost *Liber simplicis medicina*e is indicated by the catalog of the library in Durham. A volume listed at the University Library in Heidelberg, a *Summa Hildegardis de infirmitate causis et curis in uno volumine*, attested in 1438, is likewise missing. The famous doctor, alchemist, astrologer, and mystic Paracelsus (Philippus Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim, *c.*1493–1541) mentions a dream of Hildegard, but there is no evidence as to which text or vision this remark references.[33]

Any influence that Hildegard's medical texts may have exerted on academic, university medicine is demonstrated only within a very limited region. The medical specialists at the University of Heidelberg employed her works, for example. Otherwise, it can be assumed that Hildegard's medical arts were used in the context of dietary, surgical, and practical circumstances, albeit in a rather scattered fashion. Independent of university applications, usage within monastic infirmaries during the Middle Ages can be postulated, but not described with any degree of exactitude. This monastic use was probably both the high point and the conclusion of the employment of Hildegard's medical expertise.

Hildegard's commentary on the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* contains a number of medical provisions, particularly dietary ones. In addition, there arose outside of the medical corpus an autochthonous, specialized transmission of Hildegard's works, which took the form of blessings and demonic incantations. Evidence appears in the form of a blessing to stop blood flow for Sibylle of Lausanne, which is transmitted in the *Vita Hildegardis* (III.10, p. 51) and in the *Epistolarium*. This blessing also appears in a German translation from the 15th century, and was then back-translated into Latin by John Weyer (1516–1588) in his work *De praestigiis daemonum*, which appeared in 1563. In the following century, a German verse translation appeared, as well as an English translation.

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[33] Paracelsus, *Bücher und Schriften*, ed. Johannes Huber, Vol. 9 (Basel, 1591), p. 457. "Warumb der Hildtgarten sey dieses traumpt/ vnnd eim andern ein anders: Jst die Vrsach/ warinn der Geist der Hildtgarten Liebe hatt/darinnen wird er erleucht: Also hatt die ein Lust gehabt/ zu dienen ohn Abgötterey." I would like to thank Prof. Urs Leo Gantenbein (Paracelsus-Project, University of Zürich) for his kindness in providing this reference.

Hildegard's Texts in the Age of Printing

During the beginning of the age of printing, the incunabula era (*c.*1450–1500), not a single text by Hildegard appeared in print form. The conclusion can be drawn from this fact that at this time, Hildegard saw less general acceptance of her writings; instead, she exerted influence from a firmly cemented reputation as a prophetic authority. It is only in the early 16th century that the print history of the Hildegardian corpus begins. Within the context of the sectarian conflicts between Protestants and Catholics, Hildegard was discovered as an explicitly Catholic authority. The *editio princeps* of one of Hildegard's texts forms the basis for an edition of the *Scivias* printed in Paris in 1513. It was part of the *Liber trium virorum et trium spiritualium virginum* published by Faber Stapulensis. In addition to Hildegard, this collection of visionary-theological works included Hermas (2nd century CE), Uguetinus (13th century?), Robert of Uzès (1263–1296), Elisabeth of Schönau (1129–1164), and Mechthild of Hackeborn (1241–1299). Faber also reports in the preface to the work that he had visited the monasteries of Johannisberg and Rupertsberg during a trip to Germany. It was then that he learned of Hildegard's writings and was able to gain copies of them, purportedly of the Riesenkodex. It remains interesting that Faber, who otherwise published works by authors with a strong mystical bent (Dionysius the Areopagite, Ramon Lull, John of Ruysbroek, Nicholas Cusanus), devoted so much effort to Hildegard, who cannot be included among the mystical writers.

As in the medieval period, so too at the cusp of the early modern era did Hildegard's history of influence begin with the *Scivias*. In addition, the Riesenkodex proved to retain epoch-spanning importance; its authority as the central source for Hildegardian texts withstood the change in written media from manuscript to printed text. The *Scivias* edition published by Faber Stapulensis possessed an extensive history of influence. In 1628, two editions of the *Revelationes SS. Virginum Hildegardis & Elizabethae Schonaugiensis* were published in Cologne.

Bernard Wolter (active between 1598 and 1635), printer and publisher, maintained close contacts with the Jesuits in Cologne and decisively represented the Catholic, Counter-Reformation position in his more than 350 publications. In his eyes, Hildegard was a dedicated "Catholic," anti-Protestant author. During the 17th century, Hildegard exerted influence among the Counter-Reformation writers, particularly among the Jesuits, as indicated by the Jesuit drama *Von der heiligen Hildegard*. The text was printed in 1617 by Sara Mang[in] in Augsburg, and the play itself was

produced by a Jesuit college there. Faber Stapulensis's *Scivias* edition ultimately made its way into J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (vol. 197, Paris, 1855; reprint, 1882). It again formed the basis for a translation of the text into French, which appeared in Paris in 1909/1912. The new translation undertaken by Pierre Lachèze in 1863 returned directly to the printed texts from 1628. Faber Stapulensis's edition again formed the foundation for this effort.

Likewise in the 16th century, a German translation of the *Vita sancti Ruperti* appeared, entitled *Die Legend des heyligen hertzogen sant Ruprechts*. The text, published in 1524 by Jakob Koebel in Oppenheim, is based on the Riesenkodex. It is linked with a German version of the *Vita Hildegardis*. Both texts serve as examples for the appearance of Hildegard and Hildegardian materials within the tradition of the vernacular prose legendary. That Rupert's *Vita* had already been translated into Middle Dutch (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. theol. 1530 4°, p. 451f.) in the 15th century appears as further proof.

This increased presence of Hildegard's works in print format is evidenced by print editions of the *Physica* (Strasbourg, 1533) and the *Epistolarium* (Cologne, 1566). The edition of the *Physica* was published by the Strasbourg printer and humanist Johannes Schott (1477–1548). Because Schott's printed text represents a textual transmission that is otherwise not documented, it is granted the same textual-philological rank as a manuscript. In addition to Hildegard's text, Schott published other medical authorities in his print shop: Oribasius, Theodorus Priscianus, Aesculapius, a second edition of the works of Trotula (1544), and Octavianus Horatianus. Nothing is known about the reasons behind Schott's decision to publish the *Physica*, neither is there any information about the manuscript(s) that served as its basis. However, there is evidence that an exemplar of the early printed work appeared among the volumes held by the old medical college in Strasbourg (Sign. R 10.235). For the record, it appears that the discovery of Hildegard's scientific and medical texts by the early printers can be traced back to humanist groups located around the Upper Rhine region.

The print edition of the *Epistolarium* comprises 108 letters of questions to and answers by Hildegard. It was edited by the *presbyter* Justus Blanckwald and was published in Cologne by the publishing house of the heirs of John Quentel (Quental, active until 1551; his heirs until 1557) and Gerwinus Calenius (1525–1600). The print shop had strong ties to the Jesuits in Cologne and primarily printed orthodox Catholic literature. Blanckwald justified his edition with concern about the purity of belief and

morals. It is not for nothing that the title page included the addendum, "Ad confirmandam et stabiliendam catholicam nostram fidem & religionem christianam, moresque in Ecclesia instruendos & emandandos." The Riesenkodex once again served as the basis for the print edition of this epistolary volume: Justus Blanckwald had copied the texts with his own hand at the Rupertsberg.

Blanckwald's epistolary volume also exerted a long history of influence. It was included in the great compendia of patristic and medieval authors that appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries, and which finally elevated Hildegard to a Church authority par excellence. Commonly appearing under the influence of the Council of Trent, these collections aimed to disseminate the fundamental writings of the Catholic tradition in a milieu of polemic-apologetic self-assurance. The center of this great offensive in the publication wars was Paris, where Margarinus de La Bigne (*c.*1546–1597) attacked an edition of the *Orthodoxographa*, which had been mostly cleansed of "heretical" material. Margarinus's own *Sacra Bibliotheca sanctorum Patrum* (Paris, 1575, Appendix 1579), containing around 200 authors, carried with it the explicit desire to refute the so-called *Magdeburger Zenturionen* (1559) by Matthias Flacius Illyricus. Margarinus's originally purely patristic collection was continuously expanded and soon included authors from the medieval period who had a reputation of unwavering orthodoxy and were considered prototypical Catholics. Thus, volume 15 (pp. 612–88) of the *Bibliotheca magna patrum* (printed 1597–1627) included Hildegard's letters, according to Blanckwald's edition, as well as other works by the visionary. These include a short Hildegard *Vita* by Johannes Trithemius, the *Solutiones triginta octo quaestionum*, the *De regulae Sancti Benedicti*, the *Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii*, and the *Vita Hildegardis*. The *Vita Ruperti* appears only as a fragment, which breaks off abruptly.

In 1707, Thomas Ittig indicated in his treatise *De Bibliothecis et Catenis Patrum* (p. 471) that the supplemental volume including the Hildegardian materials could be traced back to the Cologne theologian Alardus Wyelius, as well as Andreas Schott (1552–1629), a Jesuit. They are credited with raising Hildegard to the rank of a patristic authority.

In 1677, the expanded *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum et antiquorum Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* (vol. 23, pp. 537–600) appeared, including twice as many pages devoted to Hildegard, which again used Blanckwald's edition as the primary source for Hildegard (however, the *Vita Hildegardis* is not included). The publication in 1724 of the *Veterum Scriptorum amplissima Collectio* (Paris, 1724) by Edmond Martène (1654–1759) and Ursin Durand (d. 1773) brought about another increase in the printed holdings

of Hildegardian material. In volume 2 (cols. 1012–1133), this collection included an additional 83 letters by Hildegard, along with the respective answering epistles, as well as a letter of inquiry to Hildegard, which was copied at Himmerod Abbey from a manuscript that is currently missing. There remains finally the late mention of the fact that J.-P. Migne dedicated the entire volume 197 of his *Patrologia Latina* to the writings of Hildegard of Bingen (Paris, 1855; reprint, 1882).

Today, a great number of Hildegard's works are available in historical-critical editions published in the series *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*. In an unbroken line of tradition, Hildegard's works illuminate a time period of over 800 years and serve as proof of the undiminished vitality of their visionary author.

THE CANONIZATION AND DOCTORIZATION OF HILDEGARD OF BINGEN*

George Ferzoco

The formal papal declaration of Hildegard's sanctity was made on May 10, 2012, followed a few months later, on October 7, 2012, by a similar declaration of her being a "Doctor of the Church." Many people were surprised by the former, insofar as it was assumed by almost everyone that Hildegard had in fact been officially considered a saint by the Roman Catholic Church for many centuries. In fact, what had lasted for centuries was the longest canonization process in the history of the Church—precisely, the process to canonize Hildegard. That this surprise should be followed so quickly by the decision to grant Hildegard the title of Doctor indicates the great interest in the *magistra*'s image, character, teaching, and impact over the course of over eight centuries. This article will trace the interest demonstrated by the papacy and the curia in the cult of Hildegard, culminating with its 2012 apotheosis.

Despite the many obvious signs of veneration toward Hildegard during her life, upon her death in 1179, and afterward, it took close to 50 years for an official papal investigation to be launched. Pope Gregory IX—who had been papal legate in Germany in the first years of the 13th century and who surely would have known of Hildegard and her cult—sent a letter to three clerics in Mainz less than a year after his election in 1227. Moved by the entreaties of the nuns of Rupertsberg, he wanted from these men copies of Hildegard's works, and he demanded in particular a study of Hildegard's life, behavior, reputation, merits, and miracles that was based on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses. The papal letter states:

> We have inclined to the petitions of the sisters above mentioned, who do not believe that what is made manifest by such great evidence should be

* Research on this article was made possible by the kind consideration of Angelo Cardinal Amato, Prefect of the dicastry (or department) of the Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (Congregation for the Causes of Saints), and of the Rev. Vincenzo Criscuolo, OFMCap, the Congregation's *relator generalis* or general coordinator of the canonization processes effected under its aegis. Father Criscuolo in particular has made it possible for me, as well as others interested in the figure of Hildegard, to study the documents relative to the *positio*.

> ignored. Thus, through our apostolic letter we charge you to undertake on our behalf a diligent enquiry into the truth from witnesses worthy of credence, concerning her life, her way of living, her reputation, her merits, her miracles, and in general all her circumstances, and that what you shall learn, you shall set forth faithfully under your seals, and dispatch to us, together with the above-mentioned books, by means of a faithful messenger.[1]

In delivering such precise instructions, Gregory was demonstrating his tenacity in clinging to and developing an attitude toward the declaration of sanctity that had first been established by his predecessor Alexander III (d. 1181) in expressing the notion that "Sine papae licentia non licet aliquem venerari pro sancto"—the phrase that serves as a heading in the *Decretals* issued in September 1234 by Gregory himself.[2]

These three clerics in Mainz prepared materials in response to the Pope's letter, and these were delivered to Rome in late 1233. With these were a *vita* of Hildegard (almost surely that of Theodoric of Echternach) and exemplars (copied in Bingen) of some of Hildegard's own writings (*Scivias, Liber vite meritorum, Liber diuinorum operum*). Accompanying these Hildegardian texts was a judgement based on the opinions of all of the theology masters of Paris and written by William of Auxerre, concluding that Hildegard's writings contained words that were not human, but divine.[3]

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[1] "Nos inclinati supplicationibus predictarum, que negligendum non credunt, quod tanto est indicio manifestum, per apostolica vobis scripta mandamus, quatenus de ipsius vita, conversatione, fama, meritis et miraculis et generaliter de omnibus circumstantiis per testes fidei dignos inquiratis vice nostra diligentius veritatem, quod inveneritis nobis sub sigillis vestris fideliter exponentes et predictos libros nobis sub sigillis eisdem per fidelem nuntium destinantes," in *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis: Leben der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen = Canonizatio Sanctae Hildegardis: Kanonisation der Heiligen Hildegard*, ed. Monika Klaes, Fontes Christiani. Zweisprachige Neuausgabe christlicher Quellentexte aus Altertum und Mittelalter 29 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1998), p. 246. The Pope goes on to instruct the recipients that if all of them together find it impossible to be involved in carrying out this task, then no fewer than two of them must do so.

[2] *Corpus Iuris Canonici, Pars Secunda: Decretalium Collectiones. Decretales Gregorii IX*, eds. Emil Ludwig Richter and Emil Friedberg (Leipzig, 1881), vol. 2, book 3, title 45 (*De reliquiis et veneratione sanctorum*), ch. 1 (*Sine Papae licentia non licet aliquem venerari pro sancto*), col. 650. For a study of this, see Roberto Paciocco, "'Sine papae licentia non licet aliquem venerari pro sancto.' La santità medievale tra processo romano-canonico e diplomatica pontificia," *Collectanea franciscana* 77 (2007): 265–311.

[3] *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, p. 270: "De circumstantiis dicit quod, cum libros eius, scilicet librum Scivias, librum Vite meritorum, librum Divinorum operum, secundum monasterii sui exemplaria conscripsisset, et cum in peregrinatione ad beatum Martinum ire disposuisset, libros iam dictos secum Parisius detulit; et ut securius in eis studere posset, ab episcopo loci tunc presidente per multos labores et magnas tribulationes obtinuit, quod omnes in theologia tunc magistros legentes convocavit, et cuilibet eorum per tres quater-

It seems that the Mainz clerics had paid much more attention to the preparation of a suitable *vita*, the copying of Hildegard's most renowned theological compositions, and their examination, than they did to the juridical examination of her actual deeds, and especially of her miracles. Perhaps this was due to the comparative novelty of canonization processes, and thus the lack of experience in effecting this properly. Another reason may be the consideration of the manner and content of the *vita* accompanying the canonization dossier: after all, it was written by a man with firsthand knowledge of Hildegard, and the third section of the tripartite work dealt specifically with miracles.

But whether or not the three inquisitors were in fact relying on the *vita* to do their job effectively with regard to proving the existence of miracles, the judicial document they prepared in relation to Hildegard's life and miracles must surely be among the most meager and approximative of such texts ever submitted to the papacy for its examination. Not only was it very short, but it was almost wholly lacking in fundamental details, such as the names of those cured, the names of those who witnessed the miracles, and where and when the miracles occurred.

Due primarily to this comparative lack of detail, it came to pass that on May 6, 1237, the Pope told the inquisitors of these shortcomings and requested their adjustment. Nothing resulted from this papal knuckle rap, and it is telling of the papal interest in fulfilling a proper process, with the aim of obtaining a papal canonization, that Pope Innocent IV (who succeeded the successor of Gregory IX, Celestine IV), in his first year as Pope, wrote the inquisitors on November 24, 1243, and asked them to complete their work. It is clear that some attempt was made to proceed, but at this point the inquisitors were in a bind, as by this time an overwhelming majority of witnesses had died. These judges could and did proceed to fill some of the *lacunae*, as evidenced in their additions to their original copy of the initial process, but these additions could only be few and far between. It appears that, perhaps out of a sense of embarrassment at having failed to provide a substantially different update, the inquisitors never

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nos ipsos libros ad examinandum dedit ab octava Martini usque ad octavam Epiphanie. Quibus examinatis episcopo restituerunt; qui magistro Wilhelmo Antisiodorensi, pro tempore suo magistro, eos assignavit et sibi eos restituit affirmans, quod magistrorum esset sententia non in eis esse verba humana, sed divina."

sent their revised work to the Pope; their document remains, bearing the inquisitors' seals, in Germany.[4]

While this document began collecting dust, the cult of Hildegard expanded significantly in central Germany, where she not only was often called "Prophetissa" but also "Sancta" in liturgical texts and art, as well as in martyrologies; so too were there indulgences for those praying to and visiting the remains of Hildegard. Many such witnesses remain, but they will not be examined here as they are outside the confines of this article, save to note a very important and sometimes overlooked work, the Rupertsberg Antependium, that is coeval with the work of the inquisitors. It is a sumptuous altarcloth of red silk with figures stitched in gold and silver threads, intended to be placed on the front of an altar, facing those in attendance at a Mass. The central figure of the altarcloth is that of Christ as judge, and on each side there are three saints. To the viewer's right, the second figure is a religious woman with a halo, holding the model of a church in her right hand. This figure represents Hildegard, abbess, monastic founder, and most of all (for the purposes of this article) saint. It is undeniably the case that this image is not only of Hildegard but also deliberately understands her to be a saint, as the figure bears the embroidered label "Sancta Hildegardis."[5]

Coinciding with this period rich in signs of public devotion is evidence of continued papal interest in Hildegard's cult and status. According to Johannes Trithemius, Pope John XXII sought a new process but was unsuccessful in getting it effected.[6] No official ecclesiastical primary source remains to verify such a claim, but it is clear that Pope John XXII held Hildegard to be, if not a canonized saint, then certainly a saintly

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[4] Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Abt. 164, Nr. 14. In fact, only two of the three seals remain, and it is striking to see a document of such hagiographical and juridical importance as this to be so physically flimsy: one sheet of parchment, irregularly trimmed and surprisingly small in size, folded in four as if it were an object of minor significance.

[5] This item, conserved in The Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels, is described and pictured in *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern*, Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn und dem Ruhrlandmuseum Essen (Munich: Hirmer; Bonn and Essen: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn und dem Ruhrlandmuseum Essen, 2005), "202: Antependium aus dem Kloster Rupertsberg," p. 313.

[6] In the *Chronicon Sponheimensis* he says this occurred in 1316, while in the *Chronica insignis monasterii Hirsaugiensis* he says this took place the following year. Johannes Trithemius, *Chronicon monasterii Sponheimensis*, in *Johannes Trithemii Opera historica*, vol. 2, ed. Marquand Freher (Frankfurt, 1601; repr. Frankfurt/Mainz, 1966), ad annum 1316; *Chronica insignis monasterii Hirsaugiensis*, in *Johannes Trithemii Opera historica*, vol. 2, ad annum 1317.

person. On August 26, 1326, among various indulgences he conceded to the Rupertsberg monastery, he included the "festum sanctae Hildegardis" on September 17. This makes John the first Pope ever to refer to Hildegard with the term "saint."[7]

Hildegard's relics have long been the objects of devotion, and they were the subject of an *elevatio* or formal exhumation in 1489 by the local bishop, Berthold of Henneberg. In 1584 Cesare Baronio published his highly influential Roman martyrology, setting the cults of saints in a single volume for the use of clerics and laity alike; here, likely inspired by Berthold's act, he unmistakably lists Hildegard as a saint.[8]

In the century following the publication of Baronio's martyrology, the indefatigable Bollandists Gottfried Henschen and Daniel Papebroch visited the relics of Hildegard.[9] On their return to their society's headquarters, they not only included Hildegard in their monumental *Acta Sanctorum*,[10] but they went so far as to make clear their belief that a papal canonization was lacking solely due to the poor execution of the process by the initial inquisitors.[11] Not only did Hildegard thus enter the scholarly world's understanding of sanctity, but it may have been a factor in the way that Pope Clement XIII, on December 23, 1767, referred to her as a saint when decreeing that the faithful who would visit the church of "Saint Hildegard" from the evening of September 16 to sunset on September 17 would receive a plenary indulgence.[12]

Although the cult of Hildegard continued to thrive in Germany, there appears to have been little activity at the papal or curial levels for the

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[7] This, according to "De peracta Canonizatione aequipollente Hildegardis Bingensis," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 104, n. 11 (November 2012), p. 865. I have not been able to find the primary source.

[8] Caesarius Baronius Soranus, *Martyrologium Romanum ad novam kalendarii rationes et ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum* (Rome, 1584), p. 362: "Apud Bingiam in dioecesi Moguntinensi sanctae Hildegardis virginis."

[9] *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Michael Cnobarus (Antwerp, 1680), Maii III, "De sancto Ruperto duce Bingae in dioecesi Moguntina et b. Bertha eius matre," Prefatio, 9, col. 504B: "Nos anno 1660 fuimus in ipso sanctae Hildegardis monasterio et inter reliquias eius cor adhuc integrum sumus venerati."

[10] *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Bernardus Albertus Vander Plassche (Antwerp, 1755), Septembris V, cols. 629–90.

[11] "Sanctae Hildegardis natales, res gestae, scripta" (preface), PL 197:89B–C (Paris, 1855): "Solemnis canonizatio, quae facile fieri potuisset, si primi delegati ad causam examinandam accuratius processint, nunquam est peracta."

[12] Helmut Hinkel, "St. Hildegards Verehrung im Bistum Mainz," in *Hildegard von Bingen 1098–1179. Festschrift zum 800. Todestag der Heiligen*, ed. Anton Brück, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 33 (Mainz, 1979), pp. 385–411 (p. 400, n. 154).

better part of the next two centuries. One must wait until the middle of World War II in order to find a high-level reference to Hildegard as a saint. On February 21, 1940, not only did the Sacred Congregation of Rites (Sacra Congregazione dei Riti) authorize the liturgy in honor of Hildegard that had been in use in the German dioceses of Mainz, Trier, Speyer, and Limburg, but the use of this liturgy—a "duplex" liturgical rite—was extended throughout all of Germany. The Congregation's document—known as a "rescript," and issued under the authority of Pope Pius XII—specifically refers to Hildegard as "Sancta Hildegardis Virgo."[13]

The next official document relative to the curia takes the recognition of Hildegard and her status in the Church one step further, and it is, on the surface at least, a surprising one. This is a letter dated March 6, 1979, in the year of the 800th anniversary of the death of Hildegard. Written in the collective name of the German Episcopal Conference, it is addressed to Pope John Paul II.[14] Noting the conferral of the title of Doctor of the Church to Teresa of Avila and Catherine of Siena by Pope Paul VI in 1970, the bishops requested a similar honor for Hildegard. The letter underlines the orthodoxy of Hildegard's doctrine, examined and declared as early as the 1140s by figures no less important than Bernard of Clairvaux and Pope Eugene III in Trier; there, the Pope read and approved the contents of the abbess' first major work, the *Scivias*. The missive of the German bishops proceeds to note the devotion given to Hildegard throughout her life, in part due to her unquestioned gift of visions and prophecy, and her advice, sought after by the great and the good, as well as the common people who lived near to her. They then note the enormous breadth of her mystical and theological writings, which addressed not just theological matters, but even topics such as medical and natural sciences. Finally, in calling formally for Hildegard's doctorization, the bishops argue this action

[13] See, for example, "Adulphus Cardinalis Bertram, Archiepiscopus Wratislaviensis, vota omnium Antistitum dioecesium Germaniae depromens, Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Pium Papam XII ea qua par est reverentia, instanter adprecatus est ut concedere dignaretur omnibus Germaniae dioecesibus indultum celebrandi sub ritu duplici festum Sanctae Hildegardis Virginis." Among the reasons provided for the extension of the cult, in addition to, for example, her visionary gifts, one reads: "Ad exemplar Sancti Bernardi per varias dioeceses itinera difficillima feliciter perrexit ad promovendam religiosam vitam et emendationem morum in clero et in populo." The original text of the entire document is preserved in the Archive of the Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi, Decreta liturgica, 1940, fasc. 44 (document 'D. 2/40'); the two-page document issued by the curia is conserved in the Episcopal Ordinariate collection of Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanarchiv, n. H IX, 10.

[14] The original letter is conserved in the Archive of the Congregazione del Culto dei Santi, R. 638, prot. Var. 1762/980, cart. II, n. 7.

is fitting because of: the force of her theological explorations; her example to women as an academic and in the service of souls; her reminder to people to respect creation as the work of God; the benefits sure to come to the female branch of the Benedictine order in the form of new vocations; and the gifts and benefits of the music she composed, still of great use and appeal today. In short, appealing to the positive example set by the then-recent nominations of the first-ever female doctors, the bishops claim that naming Hildegard a doctor would be a move welcomed by all of the faithful, and be helpful to Christian doctrine as well as the spread of the faith. In the list of signatories, after Conference President Joseph Cardinal Höffner and Bishop of Mainz Hermann Cardinal Volk, one finds the signature of the bishop of Munich and Freising, a certain "Joseph Card. Ratzinger."

Six months later, on September 8, 1979, on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of Hildegard's death, Pope John Paul II wrote and addressed a letter to Hermann Cardinal Volk, bishop of Mainz and the second signatory of the aforementioned letter sent to the Pope by the German Episcopal Conference. Full of the highest praise for Hildegard—who is referred to as "Saint Hildegard"—the letter refers to Hildegard as "light of her people and of her times," "flower of Germany," and "prophet of Germany," but not as a "doctor." The German bishops must have been pleased by the praise expressed by the Pope, but at the same time disappointed that their letter appeared to have fallen on deaf ears.[15]

In the next decade, a perhaps more modest request, but one no less noted by the curia, was made by a young German priest, Ralf Hufsky. He sent a copy of his dissertation, on Hildegard's theology of grace, to the Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi, accompanied by a letter, dated June 5, 1987, calling for Hildegard to be declared "Magistra Ecclesiae."[16]

A sign of the growing esteem granted by the Vatican with regard to Hildegard may be witnessed by the 2001 version of the Roman martyrology. It is significant that although many saints originally included by Baronio have since been removed from the martyrology, the presence of Hildegard in successive editions has been uninterrupted and, if anything, magnified. For example, in this 2001 edition, one finds her entry as follows: "In monasterio Montis Sancti Ruperti prope Bingiam in Hassia, sanctae

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[15] The text of the Pope's letter is in *Insegnamenti di Giovanni Paolo II*, vol. 2, n. 2 (July–September 1979), pp. 271–72.

[16] The dissertation and the letter are conserved in the Archive of the Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi, R. 641.

Hildegardis, virginis, quae scientia rerum naturae et medicinae necnon arte musica perita, quam mystica contemplatione experta erat, pie in libris exposuit ac descripsit."[17]

Thus was the stage of canonization and doctorization when Joseph Ratzinger became Pope Benedict XVI, and with this papacy can be found the most resolute and successful moves with regard to obtaining the highest possible status for the cult and consideration of Hildegard's sanctity and teaching. On September 1, 2010, Pope Benedict gave an address to a general audience at the papal summer residence of Castel Gandolfo in which he outlined the basic elements of Hildegard's biography, concluding with a reference to Hildegard's "love for Christ and for His Church, suffering in those times as well as ours, wounded by the sins of priests and of laypeople."[18] The following general audience was held the subsequent Wednesday, September 8, 2012, but this time in the Paolo VI Auditorium at the Vatican. Here, the Pope devoted his attention primarily to Hildegard's sanctity, her wisdom, and the expression of that wisdom, particularly through her mystical visions and their references "to the main events of the history of salvation and that use a language that is mainly poetic and symbolic . . . With traits that are characteristic of the female sensibility, Hildegard . . . develops the theme of the mystical marriage between God and humanity that is accomplished through the Incarnation."[19] Reference is also made to Hildegard going out of her monastery in order to speak of God directly to people who, considering her a messenger sent by

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[17] *Martyrologium Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani II instauratum, auctoritate Ioannis Pauli PP. II promulgatum* (Vatican City, 2001), p. 494, n. 7.

[18] The full final paragraph of the address reads: "Parlerò ancora una volta il prossimo mercoledí su questa grande donna 'profetessa', che parla con grande attualità anche oggi a noi, con la sua coraggiosa capacità di discernere i segni dei tempi, con il suo amore per il creato, la sua medicina, la sua poesia, la sua musica, che oggi viene ricostruita, il suo amore per Cristo e per la Sua Chiesa, sofferente anche in quel tempo, ferita anche in quel tempo dai peccati dei preti e dei laici, e tanto più amata come corpo di Cristo. Così santa Ildegarda parla a noi." The text of this address, along with a video, is at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/audiences/2010/documents/hf_ben-xvi_aud_20100901_it.html (accessed 25 August 2013).

[19] The text of this address, along with a video, is at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/audiences/2010/documents/hf_ben-xvi_aud_20100908_it.html (accessed 25 August 2013): "agli avvenimenti principali della storia della salvezza, e adoperano un linguaggio principalmente poetico e simbolico . . . Con i tratti caratteristici della sensibilità femminile, Ildegarda . . . sviluppa il tema del matrimonio mistico tra Dio e l'umanità realizzato nell'Incarnazione."

God, listened happily to her.[20] Significantly, in both addresses Benedict clearly and repeatedly referred to Hildegard as a saint.

Even more than in these two public orations, Benedict also spoke of Hildegard elsewhere. For example, on December 20, 2010, as part of a speech of Christmas greetings to the Roman curia, the Pope spoke of the highlights as well as the problems of the past year. Concerning the latter, with regard to scandals involving the abuse of minors by priests, Pope Benedict gave a lengthy citation of a letter from Hildegard to Werner of Kirchheim and his clerics. Here she presents a vision, part of which portrays a beautiful woman with a soiled face and a ripped robe. Benedict presents an exegesis of this vision:

> In the vision of Saint [*sic*] Hildegard, the face of the Church is stained with dust, and this is how we have seen it. Her garment is torn—by the sins of priests. The way she saw and expressed it is the way we have experienced it this year. We must accept this humiliation as an exhortation to truth and a call to renewal. Only the truth saves.[21]

But the official kick-start to the final phase of the process came from the very place that gave rise to its beginning. Clementia Killewald, the abbess of the "Benediktinerinnenabtei Sankt Hildegard" in Eibingen—the monastic community that is the effective heir to the nuns led by Hildegard herself—wrote to Pope Benedict XVI in December 2010, asking that the "deutsche Prophetin" be made a Doctor of the Church.[22] At this very time, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints was itself in contact with the nuns of Eibingen as well as the German Episcopal Conference. Two meetings were held at Eibingen in April 2011, organized by the Congregation and hosted by the Abbey of Saint Hildegard; here, scholars were invited to join the other parties, and a plan for the creation of a formal documented investigation of Hildegard's sanctity and doctrine, known as a *positio*, took place.

With the full-time work of several scholars as well as several of the abbey's nuns (not to mention the efforts of Vincenzo Criscuolo and the staff of the Congregation), this *positio* was compiled with great alacrity

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[20] September 8, 2012, address (http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/audiences/2010/documents/hf_ben-xvi_aud_20100908_it.html, accessed 25 August 2013): "Ildegarda si mise in viaggio . . . per parlare di Dio alla gente. Tutti l'ascoltavano volentieri . . . : la consideravano una messaggera mandata da Dio."

[21] The English version of this address may be found at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2010/december/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20101220_curia-auguri_en.html (accessed 25 August 2013).

[22] The letter is conserved in the Archive of the Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi, Prot. N. 1590–4/93.

and was completed by January 2012. It begins with a lengthy introduction by Vincenzo Criscuolo, the primary "relator" or driving force in preparing the dossier; here, he outlines the desire, declared by many over the centuries, to make Hildegard a saint. There follows an introductory study of Hildegard's life, including an outline of her literary production. Then, Hildegard is considered specifically with regard to her holiness; her virtues, her reputation for saintliness, and the renown of her miracles are presented here. There follows a brief study of the formal attempts made by the papacy to canonize Hildegard in the 13th century, and another contribution examines the figure of Hildegard in the history of devotion and of liturgical cults, from the year of her death to the time of the compilation of the dossier.

Effectively, what the *positio* presents to this point largely serves as the justification for the canonization of Hildegard; what follows is intended to support the claim that Hildegard be considered worthy of the status of "doctor." This latter part consists of three elements, two of them synthetic. The first is a presentation of Hildegard's writings, establishing the order in which they were written, their structure, and their originality; the second discusses the reception and influence of Hildegard's works in two areas, theology and science. There follows a lengthy study that, while not pretending to be exhaustive and definitive, does emphasize the extent to which Hildegard's teaching is a significant vehicle for the spread of the Church's instruction of the faith. This is presented in three sections. The first looks at the cultural and theological context of Hildegard's time; the second considers Hildegard's theological cosmology; and the third examines the ways in which charity—for humankind, for the world, for God, and for the Church—is taught by her. There follow a number of lengthy extracts from Hildegard's writings, followed by a bibliography of works by and about Hildegard, and a section of photographs of various artistic, manuscript, and printed images of Hildegard, as well as of her writings (and writings about her). Finally, the work ends with an index of names.[23]

The dizzying speed of the preparation of the *positio* was matched only by the immediate action taken on it by the Pope and the cardinals; indeed, many rumors and reports had been spread even before the com-

[23] *Urbis et Orbis. Extensionis cultus et concessionis tituli doctoris ecclesiae universalis in honorum Hildegardis Bingensis monialis professae ordinis Sancti Benedicti (1098–1179). Positio super canonizatione ac ecclesiae doctoratu* (Rome, 2012), 736 pages (Archive of the Congregazione della Cause dei Santi).

pletion of the *positio*, saying that Hildegard was soon to be canonized and doctorized.[24] The curia soon formally agreed that Hildegard would be canonized; indeed, even though the *positio* was not completed until January 31, 2012, it took less than two months for the cause to be examined and approved by the cardinals and bishops who met on March 20, 2012, and at the plenary session of the Congregation, held on May 10, 2012, there was a unanimous vote in favor of officially canonizing Hildegard. These formal meetings and votes were effected with the knowledge that the canonization dossier did not contain the usual quantity and quality of physical cures that are normally demanded for present-day processes. These people did know, however, of a mode of canonization that would allow for Hildegard to be officially declared a saint by the Pope regardless of the situation concerning miracles.

The mode in question is known as "equivalent canonization." It has effectively existed since the time of Pope Urban VIII, who reigned from 1623 to 1644, but entered into normal praxis thanks to the writings of Prospero Lambertini, who would from 1740 to 1758 rule the Church as Pope Benedict XIV. In his monumental work on the beatification and canonization of saints, Lambertini says that the Pope may declare someone to be canonized if a number of factors are fulfilled—primarily that the saint has been venerated from the time of his or her death until the present day, but, for whatever reason, there was never completed a formal canonization process closer to the time that the holy person in question had lived. Examples given by Lambertini of saints who had been canonized in this manner include Romuald; Norbert; Bruno; Pietro Nolasco; Felix of Valois; Margaret, Queen of Scotland; Stephen, King of Hungary; Wenceslas, Duke of Bohemia; Pope Gregory VII; and Gertrude the Great.[25] Later equivalent canonizations can be witnessed in the cases of, e.g. Cyril and Methodius, Cyril of Alexandria, Augustine of Canterbury, Albert the Great, and Margaret of Hungary.

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[24] See, for example, the authoritative tweet (https://twitter.com/romereports/status/147631310389776384, accessed 25 August 2013) that was sent at 10:57 a.m. on 16 December 2011 by the international news agency "Rome Reports": "Pope to canonize and name Hildegard of Bingen as Doctor of the Church http://bit.ly/s8fuAJ." (This last web site, accessed 25 August 2013, points to a fuller article by the same organization.)

[25] See Prospero Lambertini, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*, tome 1, vol. 2, ed. Vincenzo Criscuolo (Vatican City: Libreria Vaticana, 2011), pp. 9–88. See also the fundamental study by Fabijan Veraja, "La canonizzazione equipollente e la questione dei miracoli nelle cause di canonizzazione," *Apollinaris* 48 (1975): 222–245, 475–500; 49 (1976): 182–200.

The papal bull of canonization was decreed on May 10, 2012, at a meeting of the Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi,[26] but no canonization Mass was held. This was a surprise, but it was tempered by the announcement made soon afterward, on Pentecost Sunday (May 27, 2012), that Hildegard, along with John of Avila, would be made a Doctor of the Church. This would bring the total number of doctors to 35, and of these Hildegard would become only the fourth woman (the other women being Teresa of Avila, Catherine of Siena, and Thérèse of Lisieux). The liturgical rite of doctorization was held before a Mass that marked the opening of the Eleventh Ordinary General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops for the New Evangelization for the Transmission of the Christian Faith, on Sunday, October 7, 2012. The apostolic letter essentially serves as a revised canonization bull, summarizing Hildegard's life and declaring her sanctity, but most of all presenting and exalting the saint's doctrine. The letter ends by formally decreeing Hildegard to be a doctor:

> Fulfilling the wishes of numerous brethren in the episcopate, and of many of the faithful throughout the world, after due consultation with the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, with certain knowledge and after mature deliberation, with the fullness of my apostolic authority I declare . . . Saint Hildegard of Bingen, professed nun of the Order of Saint Benedict, to be [Doctor] of the Universal Church. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

Thus came to a triumphant close the eight-centuries-long process to grant Hildegard of Bingen the formal recognition of authoritative holiness. The canonization and doctorization of Hildegard were not simply the acts of a German Pope recognizing a German holy woman, but rather the culmination of centuries of efforts in that direction.[27]

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[26] "De peracta Canonizatione aequipollente Hildegardis Bingensis," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 104, n. 11 (November 2012), pp. 863–67.

[27] George Ferzoco, "Woman of vision," *The Tablet*, October 13, 2012, pp. 12–13.

NOTES ON HILDEGARD'S "UNKNOWN" LANGUAGE AND WRITING

George Ferzoco

Mysteries abound regarding Hildegard's "unknown language" and "unknown alphabet." One is that scholars have only begun to pay attention to this aspect of Hildegard's personality comparatively recently; another is that many have doubted its authenticity, at least in part. A greater mystery still is that too many people have overlooked what was said about this matter by Hildegard herself. In a letter written in 1153 to Pope Anastasius, Hildegard specifically says that she has miraculously received an alphabet unknown to others, a language unknown to others, and much harmonious music.[1] About five years later, in the preface to her *Liber vite meritorum*, one reads that among her previous publications, Hildegard had written many letters, created works on nature, composed the *Symphonia*, and made known an unknown language and alphabet.[2]

About a decade after the composition of the *Liber*, Hildegard's secretary Volmar sent a letter to her, possibly occasioned by a serious illness affecting the *magistra*. In expressing his anguish at the thought of Hildegard's eventual death, he wrote: "Where, then, will there be the voice of the unheard music, and the voice of the unheard language?"[3] Here, Volmar expresses aspects of Hildegard's *persona* that found resonance soon after her death, both in hagiographical literature and in the initial attempts to canonize her. In the *vita* composed *c.*1181, shortly after Hildegard's death, a passage that is likely inspired by Volmar's sentiments notes that Hildegard wrote a hitherto unseen alphabet and a hitherto unheard language.[4] And

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[1] "Sed ille qui sine defectione magnus est, modo paruum habitaculum tetigit ut illud miracula uideret, et ignotas litteras formaret, ac ignotam linguam sonaret, atque ut multimodam sed sibi consonantem melodiam sonaret," in *Epistolarium*, I, 8, p. 21.

[2] See *Vite mer.*, p. 8. Hildegard proceeds to discuss in the *Liber* the famous episode narrated in 2 Cor. 12, where Paul presents the case of a man taken up into heaven, where he heard "unspeakable words"; for this, see Jeffrey Schnapp, "Virgin Words. Hildegard of Bingen's Lingua Ignota and the Development of Imaginary Languages Ancient to Modern," *Exemplaria* 3 (1991): 267–98.

[3] "Ubi tunc uox inaudite melodie et uox inaudite lingue?" in *Epistolarium*, II, 195, p. 443.

[4] "Quis uero non miretur, quod cantum dulcissime melodie mirabili protulit symphonia et litteras prius non uisas cum lingua edidit antea inaudita?" in *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis:*

in providing a list of Hildegard's writings, the canonization process of 1233 includes among them "her unknown language with its own writing."[5]

Much attention has been given to Hildegard's *lingua* and *littera* by linguists. Wilhelm Grimm is the first scholar of the modern period to have examined Hildegard's writings in this regard; in his 1848 study, he was primarily interested in the German equivalents for the language's vocabulary (and openly shocked that a nun would know and use words dealing with male genitalia).[6] Practitioners and scholars of Esperanto and "ideal languages" have also shown interest in Hildegard's language, as witnessed by the several studies conserved at Vienna's Esperanto Museum;[7] among these works is a study of Hildegard written in Esperanto.[8] But over time not just philologists but also philosophers, cultural historians, and medievalists have studied Hildegard's personal language, culminating in works published in the past decade by Michael Embach and Sarah L. Higley.[9]

Of the tiny number of witnesses to the manuscript tradition of Hildegard's language, the most important must be the manuscript Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek 2. With regard to textual matters, this is the most celebrated of all the Hildegardian codices. It is best known by its nickname, the Riesenkodex, and it serves as the fundamental collection of Hildegard's non-scientific works (and was likely organized by Hildegard herself).[10]

It is important to note that, as presented in the Riesenkodex, Hildegard's language is not one that we would ordinarily recognize as such. It is completely lacking in anything that is not a noun. There are no verbs and

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Canonizatio Sanctae Hildegardis = Leben der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen: Kanonisation der Heiligen Hildegard, ed. Monika Klaes, Fontes Christiani 29 (Freiburg, 1998), p. 118.

[5] "Linguam ignotam cum suis litteris," in *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis: Canonizatio Sanctae Hildegardis*, p. 268, and also alluded to afterwards pp. 272, 274.

[6] Wilhelm Grimm, "Wiesbader Glossen: Befasst sich mit den mittelhochdeutschen Übersetzungen der Unbekannten Sprache der Handschrift C," in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* (Leipzig, 1848), pp. 321–40.

[7] A branch of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, the Esperantomuseum is possibly the world's greatest collection dealing with ideal or planned languages, ranging chronologically from Hildegard's secret language to Klingon and more.

[8] W.J.A. Manders, "Lingua Ignota per simplicem hominem Hildegardem prolata," in *Sciencaj studoj bazilaj sur originalaj esploroj kaj observoj, eldonita okaze de la 50-jara jubileo de Internacia scienca asocio esperantista*, ed. Paul Neergaard (Copenhagen, 1958) pp. 57–60.

[9] Michael Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Erudiri Sapientia 4 (Berlin, 2003), esp. pp. 252–86; Sarah L. Higley, *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language. An Edition, Translation, and Discussion* (New York, 2007).

[10] See Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen*, p. 36.

no other parts of speech; there are no rules of usage or of pronunciation. What we have here is a word list of about a thousand nouns, and nothing else. Just as Hildegard's letters are arranged hierarchically—that is, with the most important recipients and writers at the beginning of the collection and the less important toward the end—we find that classifications of words are in groups, starting with spiritual beings and ending with the lower elements of creation. We know the meanings of these words because they are accompanied by an interlinear Latin translation.

The vocabulary begins with six types of being that are in the spiritual realm; in order, they are *aigonz* (God), *aieganz* (angel), *ziuienz* (saint), *liuionz* (savior), *diuueliz* (devil), and *ispariz* (spirit).[11] Following these types of spiritual beings, there are words for humanity, equivalent to "human," "man," and "woman." One cannot help but be struck by the appearance of the word for "woman": *vanix* (which has nothing to do with the words for "human" and "man," which are *inimois* and *iur*, respectively).

An outline presentation of this vocabulary, from beginning to end, would be roughly in this fashion; the headings are inferred by the nature of the nouns and their groupings, and the numbers that appear are the ordinal numbers that can be linked to each of the nouns.[12]

I. Words for the spiritual realm
I.A. Spiritual entities
I.B. The human being as God's creature
I.C. God's human servants

II. Words for the human realm
II.A. Kinship relations and the human body
II.A.1. Members of the family
II.A.2. Sufferers of disease or accident
II.A.3. Parts [and excretions] of the human body
II.A.4. Skin diseases

[11] The orthography is presented in keeping with its appearance in the Riesenkodex. It is impossible to avoid the possibility of minim confusion in the transcription; for example, the word *ziuienz* may well be *zuuenz*. I have opted for *ziuienz* on the basis of the way that the word *diuueliz* appears, in that the first minim following the initial "d" has been highlighted by a later hand. Of course, there is no way of being certain that the work of this later hand is accurate.

[12] These headings and numbers are based on those established by Higley, *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language*, pp. 161–88; adaptations in square brackets are my own.

II.B. Church offices and structures
II.B.1. Offices
II.B.2. Structures and equipment
II.B.2.a. Architectural details of the church
II.B.2.b. Items used in the Mass and its preparation
II.B.2.c. Liturgical books
II.B.2.d. Liturgical clothing and cloths for the altar

II.C. Secular trades, titles, and activities
II.C.1. Noble and military officials and groups
II.C.2. Innkeepers and craftsmen
II.C.3. Entertainers, sinners, and criminals
II.C.4. Hunting and military expeditions
II.C.5. Members of the noble household

II.D. Temporal elements
II.D.1. [Days, parts of days, and] days of the week
II.D.2. The twelve months
II.D.3. The canonical hours

II.E. The monastery household and the village
II.E.1. Clothing
II.E.2. Iron implements: professional and farming equipment
II.E.3. Types of land
II.E.4. Items needed for the scriptorium
II.E.5. Tools needed for sewing, spinning, and weaving
II.E.6. Clothing for Hildegard's nuns on Mass days
II.E.7. Arms and armor
II.E.8. Tools for the crafts and for wine- and beer-making
II.E.9. The house, household tools, and the farm
II.E.10. Items needed for the kitchen
II.E.11. Basic foods [and drinks]

III. Words for the natural realm
III.A. Trees
III.B. Plants
III.C. Birds, a bat, and a gryphon
III.D. Insects

Grouping words in this fashion should not come as a surprise, given not only the hierarchical imperative that seems built into the medieval psyche (particularly that of Hildegard), but also that "vocabularies" of medieval monastic sign language also tend to group words according to their nominative form.[13] It can safely be assumed that should Hildegard's verbal revealed language have been shared with her monastic sisters, it would have fulfilled functions not dissimilar to those of monastic sign language. Rather than silence, the sound of divine inspiration may have filled the air from time to time, a sound that arrived at the abbey thanks to its founding abbess.

The only sign remaining to us of its usage is a tantalizing one. An antiphon in Hildegard's musical composition *Symphonia armoniae celestium revelationum* provides the sole witness to the practice of this divine vocabulary:

> O *orzchis* Ecclesia,
> armis divinis precincta
> et iacincto ornata,
> tu es *caldemia* stigmatum *loifolum*
> et urbs scientiarum.
> O, o, tu est etiam *crizanta*
> in alto sono
> et es *chortza* gemma.[14]

Barbara Newman provides a translation: "O measureless Church, / girded with divine armor / and adorned with jacinth, / you are the fragrance of the wounds of nations / and the city of sciences. / O, O, you are anointed / amid lofty sound: / you are a sparkling gem."[15] It is obvious that the words used in this text are not absolutely in keeping with the words that appear in the vocabulary appearing in the Riesenkodex; this demonstrates a certain flexibility in the use of this language, including the parts of speech (we witness adjectival forms here) and words altogether absent in the wordlist (e.g. *caldemia*).

This text provides grounds for believing that not only was the language semantically richer than it appears from the wordlist of the Riesenkodex,

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[13] I am grateful to William Flynn for sharing this observation, particularly in relation to the work of Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism. The Cluniac Tradition c.900–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. 4th Series. 68 (Cambridge, 2007).

[14] *Symph.* (Eng.), p. 252.

[15] Ibid., p. 254

but it also shows that through the music of Hildegard—a music that supposedly would die with her—the language could live on. In the early texts of Hildegard and her followers and devotees, this linking of her music and her language is significant, as both were seen as divine gifts that together reached the world through Hildegard. The secret writing had less good fortune, as it appears to have been used only very rarely.[16] But in Hildegard's music, vocabulary, and writing, to some degree and for some time at least, were aural, verbal, and written elements that served to bond the *magistra*'s monastic communities.

[16] See, for example, the manuscript Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Sammelhandschrift theol. et phil. 4° 253, where some rubrics were written transliterally with these letters; an example is illustrated in Higley, *Hildegard of Bingen's Unknown Language*, p. 140 (Plate 4).

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